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L I V E S
OF
THE LINDSAYS.

VOL. IV.

Lives of the English in

Oriental Miscellanies;

C O M P R I S I N G

ANECDOTES OF AN INDIAN LIFE,

BY THE [HON. ROBERT LINDSAY;]

A. W. C. L. Crawford

NARRATIVES OF

THE BATTLE OF CONJEVERAM, &c.,

BY THE HON. JAMES AND JOHN LINDSAY;

JOURNAL OF

AN IMPRISONMENT IN SERINGAPATAM,

BY THE HON. JOHN LINDSAY;

AND

AN ADVENTURE IN CHINA,

BY THE HON. HUGH LINDSAY.

V. IV

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C O N T E N T S.

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ANECDOTES OF AN INDIAN LIFE,

BY

THE HON. ROBERT LINDSAY.

ANECDOTES OF AN INDIAN LIFE,

&c.

INTRODUCTION.

“MEN leave the pictures of their frail and transitory persons to their families ; some lineaments of their mind were a better legacy, and would make them more known to posterity.”—The truth of my father’s observation is obvious, and, were each individual to keep a diary of the occurrences that happen to him during his journey through life, anecdotes would be found, to fill an interesting volume. I, as an individual, have to regret that I did not pay attention to my father’s suggestion thirty-five years ago, when, like the hunted hare, I returned to the native ground from which I was originally started : my trifling adventures were then full in my recollection, and might have been told to advantage ; but sixty-five years of age neither improve the genius or memory of

the narrator :—It was at this period of my life that, lying on the couch, suffering under a severe paroxysm of gout, and surrounded by my three daughters, Anne, Cecilia, and Elizabeth, who had in rotation exerted their young and cheerful minds to beguile the tedious hours, one of them took up my father's memoirs, and, having read the passage I have just now quoted—“Why do you not, my dear father,” said she, “follow up this good advice? Here is pen, ink, and paper; exert your memory—dictate to us the events you recollect, as far as concerns your own private history, and we will to the best of our ability commit your ideas to paper.” It was impossible to refuse their reasonable request, and, before the fit of gout was effectually removed, they contrived to squeeze from me the following short history of my active career, commencing at the period I left Britain, in 1768, and ending in 1789, embracing a period of twenty years, when my narrative ceases. I then followed the example of my father in becoming farmer, and for the next thirty-five years devoted my time and attention to the cultivation and improvement of the small portion of the Balcarres estate I purchased from my eldest brother, and my other landed property. On this subject I do not mean to enlarge, leaving it to some one of my family to describe how far I succeeded in my farming operations and improvements, or the reverse.

CHAPTER I.

I WAS born on the 25th of January, 1754, the second son of James Earl of Balcarres and Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple.

In the autumn of 1768, my father died at Balcarres, leaving a family of eight sons and three daughters. My mother's brother, William Dalrymple, then a merchant at Cadiz, offered a situation for one of us; being the second son, this was proposed to me, who cheerfully accepted it, then at the age of fourteen.

Charles Dalrymple, my mother's youngest brother, carried my brother Colin and me to London. He left Colin at Mr. Rose's academy, at Chiswick, and embarked me on board a Cadiz trading-vessel at Deptford. The talents of my brother Colin were far superior to mine; he was very handsome, showy in his appearance and elegant in his address; we were bosom companions, and the same intimacy continued till the latest period of his existence. Twenty-seven years afterwards, his duty as a general officer called him to the West Indies, where

he fell a victim to that unhealthy climate. In the interval he served at Gibraltar during the memorable siege, and he has left behind him, as a proof of his abilities, an approved work on military tactics. So much for a favourite brother, whose memory I shall ever respect.

I lived with my uncle very happily for some months, when his affairs became involved in consequence of unsuccessful speculation to South America, and I therefore accepted my cousin Mr. James Duff's invitation to occupy a room in his house until my uncle's affairs were settled. The arrangement was soon made, and I took possession of my room and seat at the desk, but my good friend, Don Diego, was too kind a master, and, instead of giving me a fixed task in the counting-house, I did as I pleased, and learnt nothing, not even the language of the country. In a few months it was found advisable to send me to Xeres de la frontera, the place where the Sherry wine is made. I was consigned to the care of Don Juan Haurie, the correspondent of the house, with directions to have me instructed in the Spanish language without delay. Don Juan, on his part, made me over to his father confessor, a friar of the order of San Francisco, who gave me an apartment in the convent. I had no reason whatever to complain of my fare, and, having none to converse with but the friars, my progress in the language was rapid. I was regularly summoned to attend the morning prayers, and evening vespers followed of course; and before and

after meals a long benediction was never omitted. Often during the course of the day, and particularly in my walks with the holy brethren, they admonished me to become a Roman Catholic, and, had I remained much longer there, they might have succeeded; fortunately, in four months, I was recalled to Cadiz, where the gaieties of the town soon made me forget the mysteries of the convent:

Xeres was then inhabited by many of the ancient Spanish nobility, who lived a retired and primitive life. Their chief amusement was a species of tournament, called the Manexo. The *noblesse* and better families, dressed in the ancient costume, and mounted on the most beautiful horses, attended by their servants (also mounted), entered the principal square, and were met, in the opposite direction, by other caballeros. They then ran at the ring, and performed many evolutions exhibiting dexterity and able horsemanship. Towards the close of the day, an active young bull was introduced, with a long rope affixed to his horns, so as to allow him to range over half the square. The younger nobility then amused the bystanders by playing around his horns, with infinite dexterity, in a thousand different ways, the bull occasionally clearing the whole square. When the horsemen were tired, the bull was made over to the people, who teased him on foot, until the animal was exhausted.

The regular bull-fight I will not describe, it being well known. The first one I saw was of a superb descrip-

tion, given to the ambassador from Morocco ; it highly delighted the ladies, and drew from them gestures of applause and admiration, but upon me it had a very different effect,—I swore never to witness so barbarous a scene again ; but we are all children of habit,—I again followed the crowd, and *Viva el toro!* was soon the order of the day with me as well as the Dónas. All who can command a pistoreen flock to the bull-fights, which are the favourite amusement of the Spanish populace, and certainly not so barbarous as an English boxing-match.

I once more occupied my seat in the counting-house, but my assiduity at the desk was never conspicuous. Mr. Duff's business lay chiefly in the shipping department ; ships, with cargoes in search of a market, came consigned to him from different parts of the world. He soon found that I had abundance of activity, and, in this department, was daily becoming more useful to him. One instance I will here mention. The better houses of Cadiz have each a tower, from which ships may be seen at a great distance. One morning, having risen early, it then blowing a heavy gale of wind, I looked through the telescope and observed a ship standing into the bay, with a signal of distress flying, and also carrying the distinguishing flag of Mr. Duff's house. I immediately ran down to the mole, and with much difficulty succeeded in getting a boat to venture off to the ship. Upon boarding her, I found she had lost all her cables and anchors, and in this situation was drifting towards

the shore before the wind. I put about, went on shore, and soon returned with all she required, and thus saved the vessel. For this Mr. Duff gave me a severe reprimand, but at the same moment slipped a couple of dollars into my hand, to carry me to the opera in the evening.

Some months had passed away, and I had nearly made up my mind to continue in the house, when a circumstance occurred to change my destination to a distant part of the globe, and make me take leave of my worthy friend for ever. Although fifty years have elapsed since we then parted, the recollection of his kindness has left an impression upon me never to be effaced, and it is a tribute due from me to his memory to say, that he possessed more benevolence and urbanity than any man I ever was acquainted with. He died at Cadiz, upwards of eighty years of age, respected and beloved by the Spaniards, and every one who knew him. His mild and unsuspecting temper made him often a prey to designing men, which greatly impaired his private fortune, and kept him abroad at a period of life when he ought to have been enjoying the fruits of his industry at home, and this circumstance has at times drawn from me regret at my having left him, as I might perhaps have kept such visitors more at a distance.

* * * * *

In the spring of the year 1772, I embarked for India

on board the Prince of Wales East Indiaman, commanded by Captain Court, a peppery Welshman with only one arm,—the other he had lost in a duel with one of his passengers, the former voyage, respecting a young lady, to whom they were both attached. More than forty passengers accompanied me on board, and, while they were occupied in gazing at the masts and rigging, which to me were of little novelty, I stepped up to the captain, and asked him to desire the carpenter to chalk my name on my birth, and I thus secured the best situation on board allotted for the writers, my experience at Cadiz already turning to good account. The passengers, upon coming down and seeing my name in large letters, proposed drawing lots ; but, in such cases, possession is more than nine points of the law, and I kept my birth during the voyage. At that early period the navigation of the eastern seas was not so well understood as at present,—the ships were not then coppered, and were of course bad sailers ; the voyage was therefore seldom performed in less than six months. So long a passage is rendered pleasant or the reverse according to the society on board. Ladies we had none ; nor shall I enter into the nice question whether their company in so long a voyage, is conducive to the general happiness or not—much may be said on both sides ; upon the whole, we were very happy. Our captain certainly did not give us the best of fare, or indulge us with costly viands ; of this, however, we did not complain, but, when put on short allowance of water, under a tropical sun, finding that a

numerous pack of fox-hounds had their usual allowance undiminished, we remonstrated in strong language,—to this he paid no attention ; we then determined to lodge a complaint against him upon our landing, but, on approaching the shore, he thought it prudent to make an ample apology, and all was forgotten.—Upon our voyage we stopped a fortnight at the Cape of Good Hope. The town is beautiful, but affords little novelty to a stranger ; the country, upon the whole, exhibits a sterile appearance, there being very little ground capable of cultivation in the vicinity, some few partial spots excepted between the mountains, such as the farm of Constantia and others, producing all that can be wished for both as to grain and fruit.

Our captain took a great stock of sheep from the Cape, of which the seamen expected to partake largely ; but, finding themselves disappointed, a trifling occurrence took place the following Sunday, which gave us a good laugh. During divine service on deck, the hundredth psalm was given out by the clerk, when, instead of the words,

“ And for his sheep he doth us take,”

a stentorian voice sung out,

“ And from us our Cape sheep did take ! ”

The captain looked foolish, but they had abundance of mutton next day for dinner.

From the day we left the Cape until we struck soundings off the sand-heads of Bengal, nothing interesting

occurred, excepting that more than once we fell in with the Rockingham, Hamilton, bound to China ; my brother William was a midshipman on board ; we were often so close as distinctly to see each other with the telescope. He was afterwards lost, poor fellow, homeward bound, at St. Helena ; in sculling a shipmate on shore, his foot slipped, and he fell overboard, at too great a distance to receive assistance from the ship. William was a sweet-tempered pleasant lad, and, had he lived, he would have succeeded well, as he was an excellent seaman.—The pilot now took us in charge, conducting the ship over an intricate navigation, and in a few hours we came to anchor at Saugur Island, in the mouth of the Hoogly river, a branch of the Ganges, leading to Calcutta. Here, on taking leave of the officers, and descending from the ship, old Budworth, the chief mate, attended at the gangway and shook us by the hand, with the consoling speech, “ Farewell, my lads ! you will stow away better homeward bound ;” and too truly was this verified, for, upon my embarking for Europe eighteen years afterwards, I well remembered Budworth’s laconic observation, and, upon looking over the melancholy list, I could only trace the names of five of my fellow-passengers in existence.

In approaching the town of Calcutta, nothing can be more beautiful or have a finer effect than the appearance of the banks, everywhere studded with country villas, covered with beautiful verdure, and resembling the best cultivated counties of England,—very different from

what one would expect to find under a vertical sun. The continual succession of ships, from all nations, passing up and down, enlivens the scene, and gives the most delightful prospect to a stranger after a long and tedious voyage. Fort William then comes into view, its stupendous outworks and bastions overhanging the river, and forming one of the most magnificent *coups d'œil* I ever witnessed ; nor is the landscape at all impaired in viewing the town of Calcutta from the river, or on the side of the esplanade ; the houses exhibit an uncommon degree of elegance, giving the town the appearance of a city of palaces, and impressing the stranger with a high idea of the opulence of the inhabitants. There is less attention paid to symmetry than in houses in Europe ; each proprietor indulges his fancy in the style of architecture ; but all agree in studying ventilation in that sultry climate, one house projecting, the other retiring, so as to give a free circulation of air ; they are in general flat in the roof, with an easy access to the terrace, which affords one a refreshing walk in the cool of the evening.

CHAPTER II.

I LANDED in Calcutta in September 1772, in perfect health ; and although the weather then was extremely sultry, still I found little inconvenience from it, my early residence in Spain having accustomed me to such ; and I continued to take exercise whilst my more delicate companions confined themselves to the house. My fellow-passengers in the civil line were now appointed to do duty in the different offices under government, and I was named as assistant to the accomptant-general in the revenue department. I preferred this situation, as it afforded me immediate opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the subordinate branches in that line, in which I aspired, sooner or later, to be an active agent.

The study of the Persian language now occupied a considerable portion of my time,—not that I mean to infer that I was more studious than my cotemporaries ; it was not then the fashion to fatigue ourselves with hard labour ; there were abundance of native scribes in all the offices to do the drudgery, and our task-

masters were not strict. Under such circumstances it was not a matter of surprise if many of us were more idle than otherwise ; I followed the tide, and a merrier set could not be found,—there was fortunately little or no dissipation amongst us.

* * * * *

In the year 1774, Warren Hastings had been Governor General of India more than five years ; never had any one before occupied that station with a higher character. He was beloved and respected by natives as well as Europeans, and the company's finances had never been in a more flourishing condition ; we were at peace with every power, and there was not less than three millions of cash in the company's treasury. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Hastings had evidently incurred the displeasure of the rulers at home, and three new members were sent out to overrule him, and compel him to leave India. Their names were General Clavering, (to succeed to the chair,) Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. Immediately upon their arrival, disputes of a very serious nature commenced, Mr. Hastings being left in a minority in every debate.—As these pages are only meant to trace my own history while in India, I will not enter into a political digression as to the merits of these disputes. I had resided for nearly two years in Sir John Clavering's society ; I was therefore marked as a party man, and passed over in the general promotion,

when, had I been a man of address, and known how to have made the most of my political interest at home, the best appointments would have been at my service. But in these points I was then ignorant as a child, and allowed the golden opportunity to pass by.

In the beginning of the year 1776, the interior province of Bengal was managed by provincial councils consisting of five members, [each,] with secretary, accomptant, and assistants ; one was stationed at Patna, another at Moorshedabad, and the third at Dacca ; the revenue, the internal police, and civil judicature were all under their control in their subordinate branches. An appointment under either of these boards was considered as certain promotion, as it withdrew one from the enormous expences young men are subject to in Calcutta. I therefore cheerfully accepted an offer made me by Mr. Broughton Rous, then appointed Revenue Chief of Dacca, to accompany him to that station as youngest assistant.

* * * * * * *

In the autumn of this year, I left Calcutta on my way to Dacca by water ; we embarked at Balaghaut on the salt-water lake three miles to the eastward, and in a few hours found ourselves in the Sunderbunds, completely secluded from the world in a wilderness of wood and water. This navigation is part of the Delta of the Ganges, extending more than two hundred miles along

the coast, through thick forests, inhabited only by tigers, alligators, and wild animals peculiar to a tropical climate ; the human population is very scanty, the country being overflowed every spring-tide by salt water. It is a dreary waste of great extent, but beautiful in the extreme, the lofty trees growing down to the water's edge with little or no brush or underwood. The innumerable rivers and creeks which intersect this country in every direction form a passage so intricate as to require the assistance of a pilot ; its windings are like the mazes of a labyrinth, in which a stranger would find himself immediately bewildered. In twelve days I found myself domiciled at Dacca, and the situation, I found, in every respect suited my genius ; the society was not numerous, but pleasant,—independent of the Company's servants, there were several free merchants, who carried on a considerable trade ; between both I passed my time most comfortably.

Dacca is a large straggling town, extending along the banks of a most beautiful river, a branch of the Ganges. In its outward appearance it is evidently upon the decline, the houses of the natives being mean and insignificant ; but the ruins of bridges, decayed porticoes, and columns, some of them of no mean architecture, show that it has formerly been a place of note. Some centuries ago, it was, in fact, the residence of the viceroy, and the capital of the Bengal province, under the Grand Mogul ; the seat of government was, after a lapse of time, transferred to Moorshedabad, and from

that period Dacca began to decline ; the only good houses now to be seen are those belonging to the English families. The actual population of the natives has by no means decreased, and manufactures and cultivation bear every appearance of prosperity.*

Soon after my arrival the death of Colonel Monson gave Mr. Hastings once more the majority in council and controlling power. My patrons at Dacca, Mr. Rous and Mr. Holland were thus left in the minority. Mr. John Shakespear, Mr. Matthew Day, and Mr. Hogarth, the other three gentlemen in council, belonged to the

* “ Dacca,” adds Mr. Lindsay, “ had nothing curious to boast of, or to attract the attention of a stranger, excepting a very remarkable piece of ordnance.” It was thirty-six feet long, made of hammered iron, being an immense tube of fourteen bars, with rings driven over them, and beaten down to a smooth surface, so that its appearance was very good, although its proportions were faulty. “ By its side lay a stone ball, which fitted its calibre ; the strongest man in the place could with difficulty raise it to his knee,—had this ball been made of metal, it would have weighed four hundred pounds avoirdupois.” The gun itself must have weighed 64,814 pounds, or about the weight of eleven thirty-two pounders.—“ It must here be particularly remarked, that the natives are totally unacquainted with mechanics, and how they contrived to manufacture this unwieldy gun, and move it in and out of the forge during the operation, has hitherto baffled all calculation.

“ The inhabitants explain the phenomenon in their own way,—it fell from heaven, they say ; in honour of which event a lamp has been kept burning within it from time immemorial, and it was worshipped as a shrine, or the abode of an invisible deity, until the period it disappeared, which happened about the year 1780.—This magnificent gun unfortunately did not lie on *terra firma*, but on an island opposite the town of

opposite party. I was the youngest man in the settlement, and endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to keep clear of politics. The public business was transacted by a few able individuals, and the younger servants had full leisure to amuse themselves. When the periodical rains subsided, we encamped in tents upon the plains of Tongee, and enjoyed the sports of the field to the fullest extent. I was particularly fond of the wild boar chase, a bold and manly amusement, in which both courage and dexterous horsemanship are required. Our weapon consisted only of a short, heavy spear, three feet in length, and well poised; the boar being found and

Dacca; the river had been gradually encroaching upon its banks, and my friend, John Cowe,^a who possessed considerable mechanical abilities, had, in concert with me, formed a plan of building a vessel to transport it to Calcutta, but we were removed from the place before our intentions were accomplished, and the gentlemen of Dacca, with an unpardonable degree of apathy, allowed the current to undermine the banks, and the gun now lies at the bottom of the river, never to be recovered.—The natives say, there is nothing extraordinary [in its disappearance], for it has only returned to heaven, from whence it came."

Mr. Hamilton thinks it was probably fabricated towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Dacca was the residence of Azim Ushaun, grandson of Aurengzebe.—*Description of Hindostan*, i., 185.

^a "At Dacca I made acquaintance with my venerable friend, John Cowe. He had served in the navy so far back as the memorable siege of the Havannah, was reduced when a lieutenant, at the end of the American war, went out in the Company's military service, and here I found him in the command of a regiment of *Sebundees*, or native militia. He continued my steady friend for forty years, when he died, in the year 1818."

unkennelled by the spaniels, runs with great speed across the plain, is pursued on horseback, and the first rider who approaches throws his javelin ; if he misses his aim, he is obliged to dismount and recover his weapon, and his place in the field is occupied by the next in succession, who wounds his enemy ; a third rider transfixes him to the ground. Unless one is accustomed to ride, and well mounted, it becomes a dangerous amusement. I have seen many accidents happen from the ferocity of the boar. Both tigers and leopards are occasionally met with, but we are not fond of attacking them without fire-arms.

Upon one occasion, I was mounted upon a very unruly horse, and was obliged, to my great mortification, to quit the field. In returning to the tents, accompanied by my servant, I fell in with a large boar, which I attacked, and was fortunate enough to kill. I had him carried to our encampment, and, with the assistance of the cook, cut off his head, and, with much dexterity, sewed it on his hind quarters, by which means my boar became a *lusus naturæ* of a very unusual description, his fore-legs being much longer than the hind ones. As such, I exhibited him to my companions when they returned from the chase ; various, indeed, were the debates that ensued respecting the animal, until the trick was discovered. With these and such other amusements our time passed merrily on.—But, amidst all our sports, I never lost sight of the prospect of returning to my native country, and was anxious to be placed in some

situation wherein I might derive some benefit from my own industry.

On the east side of the Brahmaputra river lies the province of Sylhet. It is of considerable extent, reaching from the east bank of that large river, and extending to the high range of mountains which separates our territories of Bengal from the dominions tributary to China ; according to Major Rennell's account, the Chinese frontier is only distant three hundred miles from ours ; the intermediate space is but thinly inhabited, and occupied by tribes of independent Tartars. During the Mogul government a considerable military force was kept up at Sylhet for its defence,—the troops were maintained on the feudal system, and had lands allotted to them under the hills for their military services.

The district yielded little or no revenue to Government beyond a few elephants, spices, and wood ; and they were often obliged to remit considerable sums for its defence against the predatory incursions of the mountaineers. The station itself was always considered as an honourable appointment, and as such, was occupied by a near relation of the nabob of Bengal.

This district had for some years fallen under the superintendence of the Dacca council, and two years previous to my appointment, my friend Mr. W. Holland, as one of the members of that council, had been deputed to effect a settlement with the Sylhet land-holders, with power to cess with revenue, or levy a rent from those

lands held on military tenure. Such a transaction is seldom accomplished without much difficulty.

Mr. Holland, having finished his business in that troublesome settlement, returned to Dacca, and presented his rent-roll to the council, amounting to no less than £25,000 per annum ; but said, at the same time, that they were a most turbulent people, and that it would require much trouble to realise it ; the other members held the settlement in derision. My intimacy with Mr. Holland continued to increase ; he was a man of high honour and principle, possessing a considerable fortune which he inherited from his father. In a confidential conversation with me, he regretted that his health did not permit him to return to Sylhet to complete the work he had so prosperously commenced. "I am sensible," said he, "it will prove an arduous undertaking, and none but a man possessed of a sound constitution, with great energy and determination, is fit for it." I thought for some time, and, turning quickly round, I said, "I know the man who will suit you exactly."—"And where is he to be found ?" said Mr. Holland. I answered, "I am the man !" Upon which my friend threw himself back in his chair, and, with a loud laugh, replied, "Lindsay ! you are the most impudent fellow alive ! our establishment is more than twenty in number, eighteen of whom would jump at the appointment ; and here are you, the youngest of the whole, aspiring to it yourself !"—"And can you blame me, my friend," said I, "for looking to the top of the

tree?"—"By no means," said he, "but how can the thing be accomplished?"—"The thing is difficult, I allow, but, with such a friend as you, much may be effected. May I look for your support at a future day should I be proposed by the other members in council?"—"You shall have it," said he. All I then asked was, that he should not retire until I saw a little day-light in the business, and that, in the meanwhile, our conversation should remain a secret; to this he willingly consented.

I had now taken my ground, having left a favourable impression on Mr. Holland, and I well knew the high opinion the other members of the council had of his judgment; but to advance farther without carefully probing my way, was dangerous.

* * * * *

Among the numerous articles of commerce carried on in the interior of the Dacca district, salt is not the least considerable. It is manufactured by the agents of government on the sea coast, and preserved as a monopoly for the benefit of the company. At certain periods, it is brought up in large boats to Dacca, and there exposed to public sale. My commercial education at Cadiz was now beginning to show itself of use to me. In the mode of exposing the lots to sale, I could perceive no small intrigue was carrying on, for I saw that the natives had not that free access to the public sale to which they

were entitled, and that the lots fell, as they were put up, to the dependents of the members in council, who by this means gained to themselves a considerable advantage.

A fair opportunity, I thought, now occurred of bettering myself without injury to the public ; I therefore conversed with a wealthy native on the subject, who fully entered into my views, and proposed to advance me a large sum of money upon a mutual concern, provided I would appear as the ostensible person. I, in consequence, appeared at the next sale, and became the purchaser of salt to the extent of £20,000 ; and the speculation turned out so well as fully to enable me to pay off all the debt I had contracted during my long residence in Calcutta, and to place a few thousand rupees in my pocket.—Nor was this the only advantage I gained by my well-timed energy. The system I had introduced was not altogether approved of by some of the members of the council, as militating against certain rules they had laid down ; and this, I have reason to think, soon after facilitated my removal far from Dacca. A happier man could not exist than I was at that period, clear of the world, with a lesson of experience.

My friend, Mr. Holland, soon after informed me that he had made up his mind not to return to Sylhet. I then for the first time, went to my friend, Mr. Rous, our resident, and laid my wishes before him as to succeeding Mr. Holland in his appointment. He answered coolly, that he would be happy to forward my views, but that

he saw little prospect of my success being the youngest member in the settlement. I owned the difficulty was great, but said, “should my name be proposed in council by the opposite party, I hope it may meet with your concurrence?”—to this he cheerfully consented.—Thus were two members gained; I had only to look for a third to obtain a majority, and I addressed myself to John Shakespear, who had at that time the lead in council. I found that gentleman well-inclined to serve me, and he promised his support, under the stipulation that I would provide for two of his dependents,—that I of course agreed to, and this same gentleman proposed my name next day in council to succeed Mr. Holland, who resigned; this was unanimously agreed to, but it had the effect of creating much discontent among the junior servants of the settlement, who were all my seniors, none of whom had the least idea of my looking up to an appointment so far above my standing in the service, and determined among themselves to counteract it, as will appear in the sequel.

I had now attained the summit of my ambition, and bade adieu to Dacca, where I had lived for upwards of two years with much comfort and satisfaction.—Proceeding down the river for twenty miles, we stopped at Feringee-bazar; at this place the Dacca river, which is a branch of the Ganges, joins the great Brahmaputra; when both united, they are known by the name of Megna, and form one of the largest rivers in the world. This river I had now to ascend for many miles, but, as the

periodical rains had set in, the whole country exhibited a most melancholy and desolate appearance, being involved in a general deluge. This sudden rise of water is not occasioned by the rains that fall in the adjoining country, but by the melting of the snow and ice early in the summer in the Himalaya and other lofty mountains in Tartary, in Assam, Thibet, &c., all of which furnish their tributary streams, and assist in overflowing the lower provinces of Bengal in their rapid course to the ocean ; laying the whole country for three months of the year under water, and, similar to the Nile, fertilising the land for the ensuing crops. I shall not therefore be disbelieved when I say that, in pointing my boat towards Sylhet, I had recourse to my compass, the same as at sea, and steered a straight course through a lake not less than one hundred miles in extent, occasionally passing through villages, built on artificial mounds,—but so scanty was the ground, that each house had a canoe attached to it. The inhabitants, of course, live in much misery during the rains.

In crossing this country, I frequently passed through fields of wild rice, forming the most beautiful verdure, so thick as to exclude the appearance of water ; the herbage giving way to the boat as it advanced, and again rising immediately behind it, formed a very novel scene ; we were thus encompassed by a sea of green. One thing I found extremely unpleasant, which was, the myriads of insects which rose from the grass when disturbed, but were more particularly felt when we had

candles. I mention these circumstances, as the low country I am now describing is to be under my control and management for the next twelve years of my life.

On the seventh day after my leaving Dacca, the lofty mountains behind Sylhet came into view ; they appeared as a dark cloud at a great distance, intersected with perpendicular streaks of white, which, I afterwards found, were cataracts of considerable magnitude, seen at a distance of forty miles, in the rainy season. Soon after, the Soormah, or Sylhet river, came in sight, distant from Sylhet thirty miles. The country here improved, the banks of the river became higher, and every thing assumed a more comfortable appearance. I was at this place met by the Omlah, or officers belonging to the establishment, who hailed my arrival in a variety of boats dressed out for the occasion, and accompanied me to the house intended for my residence. On asking for the town, I found the whole consisted of an inconsiderable bazar, or market-place, the houses of the inhabitants being fantastically built and scattered upon the numerous hills and rising grounds, so buried in wood as to be scarcely discernible. The appearance was singular, but had every mark of comfort.

CHAPTER III.

I WAS now told that it was customary for the new resident to pay his respects to the shrine of the tutelar saint, Shaw Juloll. Pilgrims of the Islam faith flock to this shrine from every part of India, and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the tomb were not a little dangerous. It was not my business to combat religious prejudices, and I therefore went in state, as others had done before me, left my shoes on the threshold, and deposited on the tomb five gold mohurs* as an offering.

Being thus purified, I returned to my dwelling, and received the homage of my subjects. One of the tenets, both of the Hindoo and Mahometan faith is, never to present themselves to their superiors empty-handed ; my table was in consequence soon covered with silver, none offering less than one rupee, others four or five. In return, the great man, whoever he is, gives the donor a few leaves of pawn and betel nut.

* A coin worth sixteen rupees in Bengal.

The business of the different offices was at this time conducted by two of Mr. Holland's confidential agents, Gorhurry Sing and Permnarain Bose ; they were both men of good character, and, as such, I confirmed them in their charges. The former continued with me during my stay in India, and, for thirty years after my return to England, he corresponded with me as his attached friend. Exclusive of the officers belonging to the revenue department, we had also a full establishment of black officers in the court of judicature, over which court it was one of my numerous duties to preside. In this arduous undertaking I was greatly assisted by several pundits who always attended to explain the law, and were of much use when difficulties occurred. The criminal court continued as yet under the charge of the nabob of Bengal, and remained so for some years, when a different arrangement took place. The population of the country I found almost equally divided between the Hindoo and Mahometan. The former were a much more inoffensive race than the latter, whom upon many occasions I found troublesome.

I will now endeavour to give an account of the revenues of the country over which I presided, and which essentially differ from [those of] every other part of India. There was little silver or copper in circulation, and the circulating medium was carried on entirely in cowries, or small shells, such as are used in the African trade as ornaments for the women. This cowrie, or shell, is well known in every part of Bengal, and used in

the purchase of the smaller articles of life by the lower ranks of society, and they answer all the purposes of commerce. How they became the only circulating medium of a country three hundred miles distant from the sea, is a question neither I or any other person has been able fully to explain. The coast of Bengal, extending along the top of the bay for two hundred and fifty miles, viz., from Balasore to Chittagong, is an entire morass ; neither stones or shells are to be found in this extensive tract,—the soil consists entirely of mud ; nor is the cowrie to be found either on the opposite coast of Malabar, or Coromandel. They are in fact seen nowhere in any quantity but on the Maldive and Nicobar islands in the mouth of the bay of Bengal, not less than fifteen hundred miles distant from Sylhet where I resided.

These low islands are but thinly inhabited, and furnish no commercial produce beyond cowries and cocoanuts, both of which are brought over to Chittagong, in the south-east corner of the bay of Bengal, from whence they are dispersed all over the country and eventually find their way to Sylhet, as being the poorer country and more suitable for the purchase of the smaller articles of traffic in lieu of copper currency. There is likewise, in the months of October and November, when the waters subside, a trade to a great extent carried on in the article of fish, which employs many thousands of the inhabitants, and certainly has the effect of drawing more cowries into the country than all the other

branches of commerce united, and this may in a great measure account for the circulation.*

I have now to describe the manner in which we received the rents from the country, and afterwards remitted them to Dacca. The actual collection amounted to 250,000 rupees. It is here natural to ask, how many cowries go to a rupee? I give you a distinct answer:—four cowries make one *gunda*; twenty gundas make one *pun*; sixteen puns make one *cawn*, and four cawns one *rupee*. Thus, when multiplied together, you will find that the rupee contains 5,120 cowries; again, multiply these by eight, being the number of rupees in one pound sterling, and the produce is 40,960 cowries in one pound. You may imagine then how troublesome it was to manage this ponderous circulation, when received as the revenues of the country. It required, in fact, many large cellars or warehouses to contain them, and, when

* It is impossible to describe the immense quantity of fish of every description left in the pools on the plain when the waters subside into their original channels, and which, being gathered by the inhabitants, are afterwards exposed to dry in the sun, and occasion a smell of the most noxious nature. The fish, being dried, are buried for a certain time in the ground before they can be carried to market, where they meet a ready sale, but during this period the country is in a complete state of confusion, for the fish-gatherers are so unprincipled a set of people that they take advances from many, knowing that they can only deliver to one, and this occasions frays innumerable. The hill people have another mode of preparing the fish for their own consumption. They roast the fish gathered on the plains, and convey them to the mountains in great quantities, as a delicacy to their chieftains.

finally collected for the year, a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca.

This operation, in all its details, occasioned a loss of no less than ten per cent., exclusive of depredation on the passage down. Until my appointment to Sylhet, it had been the invariable practice to count over the whole balance in the treasury previous to embarkation ; but I was determined to shorten the process, and receive the shells by weight. The black treasurer, (who was a sagacious man,) assured me it was impossible ; with the high tone of authority, I told him, "my orders must be obeyed,"—a low bow was the consequence—the measure was filled, and I felt proud at my wisdom. I was absent for a few minutes, when, returning, I found the cowries just weighed had become one-third heavier without apparent reason,—the old treasurer betraying at the same time a sarcastic smile—"What is the cause of this, Kazanchy ?"—"Nothing, sir, but a little sand, which will turn the scale at any time."—"You are right, my friend, but it is my turn next—we will now receive them by a given measure—to this there cannot possibly be an objection."—"Allow your humble slave to suggest"—"Suggest nothing ! my will must be the law:"—the Kazanchy again bowed his head. The standard measure was accordingly made and filled with much judgment, neither too high nor too low ; an order was now directed by the great man to pass into a law, fixing the diameter of the measure, when the old treasurer stumbling, as if by accident, across the apartment, and hitting

the measure with his toe, the cowries subsided several inches, to his no small amusement. The old man's advice was at last resorted to—that the cowries should in future be received in baskets, made to contain a certain given quantity, and five baskets in each hundred to be counted so as to form an average, and it was wonderful with what ease and nicety the business was conducted afterwards.—Of cowries I had, in my official capacity as resident, to receive from the Zemindars* annually to the amount of £25,000, and, as I have already said, it was the custom to send the whole of these cowries to Dacca, where they were exposed to public sale; but this practice, as will soon appear, was done away.

The settlement with the Zemindars, as effected by Mr. Holland, I found from experience both difficult and intricate. In many instances I was compelled to use military force, and it had nearly been the cause of a partial revolt under the hills; but I was unremitting in my activity and zeal in carrying through Mr. Holland's plans, especially as I found the country fully able to pay the amount with which it was taxed. The collection of the revenues occupied my whole attention the first nine months, it being my primary object, so as to entitle me to the favour and countenance of the gentlemen at Dacca. The council at that settlement had lately undergone a very considerable change,—a new member, of needy fortune, had been introduced; he certainly had, from his

* Landholders.

rank, a prior claim to the appointment I then held, and he availed himself of it. An order of council immediately passed for me to deliver over to him my charge without delay ; but this I at once determined not to do without a struggle. When sitting one morning alone at breakfast, I received the following laconic note from my old friend, John Cowe :—“ What I long expected has come to pass—these fellows have undermined you—wind up as fast as you can, and prepare for a march.”

This was the first intimation I received, and most unpalatable news it was, and, I must candidly acknowledge, it fairly knocked me down ; from the height of prosperity, in one moment, I was humbled to the dust. Considering myself secure in my appointment, I had borrowed large sums of money, which, in my flattering situation, were pressed upon me—I had launched out into various speculations in trade, which would have succeeded well had I continued in my situation ; but, from the turbulent state of the country, my advances were infallibly lost in consequence of my removal !—I had not a friend to consult with, nor a British tongue to converse with. I shut myself up in my room for a couple of hours, and feeling myself bereft of the prospect of revisiting my native soil actually brought the tear into my eye—but this feeling was but momentary, to despond was not my character, and I calmly considered over the bearings of the case.—I sent for the account of my revenue collections ; three months of the current rents were still due, viz., about £6000 :—I, at once, saw the necessity of de-

priving the Dacca council of every shadow of complaint against me in the way of my duty—the arrears were heavy, and I well knew that this was my weak side, of which my friends at Dacca would avail themselves—it was now my object to thwart them. I determined, therefore, on a bold step, and balanced the annual books of the district, leaving not one cowrie outstanding, thus risking for the deficiency my own little fortune. I well knew that, if I had interest enough to get the order rescinded, the arrears would soon be recovered.

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I now ordered a couple of canoes to be well manned and armed, ostensibly for Dacca ; in the course of two hours I set off, and pushed forward directly to Calcutta, nearly three hundred miles by the windings of the river,* travelling night and day until I reached my destination. I had previously prepared an humble remonstrance to the supreme board, stating the nature of my appointment, my indefatigable labour and exertions during the last nine months in a turbulent country, and that I had succeeded in realising every farthing of the revenue with which the country was taxed, and as a reward for my zeal, I complained that I had been unjustly and disgracefully removed by the Dacca board from my situation. I now made use of every private interest I could raise upon the occasion, and had to acknowledge the able influence of a fair lady, wife of Justice Hyde, who warmly interested

* Major Rennell estimates the travelling distance at 325 miles.

herself in my behalf. The consequence was, that an express was sent to the Dacca council, to know (by return of post) the cause of the removal of Mr. Lindsay; in reply, they could assign no cause whatever, excepting my being junior in rank to many others. An order was then issued, appointing me resident and collector of Sylhet,—moreover, independent of Dacca, with instructions to correspond with the presidency direct. This was a signal victory in my favour, and an ample reward for my activity. I re-embarked in my canoe, and returned to Sylhet with so much expedition that the inhabitants hardly knew I had been absent—travelling six hundred miles, in an open boat, covered only by an awning. My rapid return had the happiest effect in recovering my balances, and restoring of order, which had been much disturbed during my absence.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING gained this most important point, so far surpassing my most sanguine expectations, I contemplated with delight the wide field of commercial speculation opening before me ; my pay as resident did not exceed £500 per annum, so that fortune could only be acquired by my own industry. The lower part of the province, as I have already said, was miserable in the extreme, being only capable of bearing coarse rice. The districts contiguous to the hills were of a different description, with a proportion of high and low lands, producing sugar, cotton, and other valuable crops. The high country had also other resources, well deserving the attention of the enterprising merchant :—for example, the mountain produced wood of various kinds, adapted to boat and ship building, and also iron of a very superior quality, and description little known in this country ; it is brought down from the hills in lumps of adhesive sand, and being put into the forge, produces excellent malleable iron without ever undergoing the process of

fusion, the hammer and fire discharging the dross and coarser particles at once, thus producing what is called virgin iron, superior to any made in Europe by charcoal. Silks of a coarse quality called *moongadutties*, are also brought from the frontiers of China, for the Malay trade; and considerable quantities of copper in bars, and a small quantity of European goods, are carried up to barter for these commodities.—The adjoining mountain is also an inexhaustible source of the finest lime, and lower down the river there is abundance of fuel for burning it,—but, as this branch of commerce soon became a large source of emolument to me, and in fact became the foundation of my fortune, I shall presently enter into it with more detail.—The country under the mountains, where the ground undulates, but is not precipitous, furnishes abundance of elephants of the best description.—My Spanish education now came conspicuously into play.

But in order to set the various plans a-going, which were floating before me, one thing was wanting—ready money. The fickle goddess, however, having now taken me by the hand, soon furnished me with the means of accomplishing my wishes, in a manner the most satisfactory and the most unexpected.

Mr. Croftes, the accountant-general, wished to provide for a favourite black writer, who worked in his office; this man was a shrewd intelligent fellow, and it occurred to him that a considerable profit might be made from the cowries under good management, pro-

vided a favourable contract could be made with government. Mr. Croftes therefore delivered in to the supreme board, in behalf of his friend, an offer to purchase the whole of the cowries collected at Sylhet in the shape of revenue, at a certain given price, the money payable two years after delivery. A copy of this offer was sent me up officially by the secretary, desiring my opinion whether the offer was adequate, or the reverse.

I now felt myself under a considerable dilemma, as I saw I was on the point of becoming a cypher, dependent on a black man; for it was evident that the person holding this contract would have an unbounded influence in the country from the whole revenues centering in his hands. It became also a matter of the utmost delicacy my attempting to give in a counter proposal in my own name, more especially as the contract had never been publicly advertised; but, as the future value of my situation depended on the result, I determined upon making a fair attempt to turn Mr. Lopez to good account. With this view, I told the board, in my answer, that, having compared the offer made by Mr. Lopez with the actual sales made at Dacca for the last five years, I could not help reporting the price proffered not unfavourable; at the same time, I considered it my duty to say, that the proposed term of payment, suspended for two years, was quite unreasonable, and I concluded by saying, that if the board were satisfied with the price, and saw no impropriety in my holding the contract for five years, I would tender them payment in

six months after the delivery. The accountant-general had previously recommended the offer made by Mr. Lopez so strenuously, that my offer could not with propriety be refused, and the contract of course fell to me. My friend, the accountant-general, never forgave me for having thus outwitted him in the transaction, and he carefully awaited the conclusion of the contract, when, to prevent my interfering with his views a second time, the contract was advertised to be made by public sale at Calcutta at a distant day. But Mr. Lopez met with a second disappointment,—a black man was also in attendance—to him the contract was knocked down.

I now had to address the board once more on the same subject, informing them that the native contractor was my own servant, but that, if any objection was found to my holding the contract a second time, I would most cheerfully resign it;—in reply, I was informed by the secretary, that they had no objection to me whatever. From this signal piece of good luck, and from the conspicuous advantage I derived from the great command of money to carry on my commercial pursuits, I have to date the origin of the fortune I acquired in the company's service.

Exclusive of the larger branches of commerce already mentioned, there are minor articles bought to a considerable amount, such as coarse muslins, ivory, honey, gums, and drugs for the European market, and, in the fruit season, an inexhaustible quantity of the finest

oranges, found growing spontaneously in the mountains.—But the only great staple and steady article of commerce, is *chunam*, or lime. In no part of Bengal, or even Hindostan, is the rock found so perfectly pure, or so free of alloy, as in this province, therefore Calcutta is chiefly supplied from hence. This branch immediately attracted my attention, and I was led to investigate how far the trade could be improved or extended. I found it had been hitherto occupied by Armenians, Greeks, and low Europeans, but to a trifling extent only, while I had so greatly the advantage over them, from the command of the currency, that it was evident the trade might soon centre with me; and it accordingly did so.—And the trade became of essential use to me, by expending the cowries within the province, which in the course of six months became converted into cash from the sale of the lime, and enabled me to fulfil my contract, which otherwise would have been difficult.

The mountain from whence the lime is taken, was not situated within our jurisdiction, but belonged to independent chieftains, inhabitants of the high range which separates our possessions from the Chinese frontier. My great object was to procure from these people a lease of the lime-rock, but they previously demanded an interview with me, to consult on the subject. A meeting was accordingly fixed at a place called Pondua, situated close under the hills, forming one of the most stupendous amphitheatres in the world. The mountain appears to rise abruptly from the watery plain, and is covered with the

most beautiful foliage, and fruit-trees of every description peculiar to a tropical climate, which seem to grow spontaneously from the crevices of the lime-rock. A more romantic or more beautiful situation could not be found than the one then before me. The magnificent mountain, full in view, appeared to be divided with large perpendicular stripes of white, which, upon a nearer inspection, proved to be cataracts of no small magnitude, and the river, in which the boats anchored, was so pure that the trout and other fishes were seen playing about in every direction ; above all, the air was delightful when contrasted with the close and pestilential atmosphere of the putrid plain below, so that I felt as if transplanted into one of the regions of Paradise. But the appearance of the inhabitants of this garden of Eden did not enable me to follow out the theory I could have wished to establish ; it certainly deserved a different style of inhabitants from those wild-looking demons, then dancing on the banks before me.

In order to pay due attention to the great man, they had come down from every part of the mountain, accompanied by their retainers, dressed in the garb of war, and, when thus accoutred, their appearance is most unquestionably martial, and by no means unlike our native Highlanders when dressed in the Gaelic costume. Many hundreds of this description were now before me. But my new friends, on this occasion, breathed nothing but peace and friendship ; though still it was evident, from their complexion and the war-yell that occasionally

escaped their lips, as well as the mode in which they handled their weapons, that their temperament was not dissimilar to that of other mountaineers ; and the opinion I thus hastily formed I found corroborated in the sequel.

After a residence of twelve years in their vicinity, and having had much business to transact with them, I can with safety describe the Cusseah, or native Tartar of these mountains,—a fair man in his dealings, and, provided you treat him honourably, he will act with perfect reciprocity towards you ; but beware of showing him the smallest appearance of indignity, for he is jealous in the extreme, cruel and vindictive in his resentments. This I experienced in my future dealings with them, as will hereafter appear ; my present interview terminated most harmoniously.

We had a most sumptuous entertainment on the turf. Our viands, to be sure, were neither of the most costly or delicate nature ; nor were the decorations of the table such as would suit the dandies of the present day. The repast consisted entirely of six or eight large hogs, barbecued whole, or rather roasted in an oven, according to the Otaheite fashion,—a hole being dug in the ground, lined with plantain-leaves, and filled with hot stones—the hog placed therein—more hot stones laid on at the top, and the whole covered over with turf. The chiefs acted as carvers, their dirks being the only instrument used, and the large leaves of the plantain served for plates. The entertainment was universally admired, and abundance of fermented liquor closed the festivities

of the day, it having been previously agreed that no business should be discussed till the following morning.

We accordingly then met ; and the arrangement between us terminated to our mutual satisfaction, a large portion of the mountain, where the quarries are worked, being allotted to me, including the most favourable situation for access to my boats, so as to afford me the fullest command of water-carriage.

After the business of the day was closed, several of the chiefs proposed to accompany me up the river and show me the quarries, but told me to prepare for a service of danger, and such as I was little accustomed to. Half a dozen canoes were manned on the occasion, each carrying six stout men, furnished with paddles for the smooth water, and long poles to push the boat over the rapid. For a few miles we got on well with the paddles ; by degrees we got into the broken water, when the first rapid came full in view ; the poles were then resorted to, and we got through it without much difficulty. A couple of miles further brought us to the second, which was infinitely more rapid than the former ; the people were obliged to push the boat under the banks, and pull it up with ropes. At the entrance to the third rapid, the noise was tremendous, and the voices of the people were no longer discernible, but, as they betrayed no fear, I determined to persevere. As the water had become more shallow, the people jumped out, and nearly by main force lifted the canoe over the stones.

We now approached the *chunam* or lime-rock, washed by the rapid stream—a magnificent cataract was seen rolling over the adjoining precipice—the scenery altogether was truly sublime. The mountain was composed of the purest alabaster lime, and appeared, in quantity, equal to the supply of the whole world. When the canoes were loaded at the bottom of the hill, they appeared to descend the rapids with the rapidity of lightning; indeed it is often attended with danger, and even loss of life, when bringing down the stones.

On my passage down the river with my new friends, I landed at a projecting point above Pondua, and, admiring the beauty of the situation, expressed my anxious wish to be permitted to build a small cottage, and surround it with a wall to protect it from the depredations of the animals of the forest; to this they cheerfully consented. I gave immediate orders to build my proposed villa, which became a beautiful retreat, and never failed to restore me when exhausted by the noxious vapours occasioned by the inundation. But in this building I had a more important object to gain than my Tartar friends were aware of; the garden-wall was constructed with unusual strength, so as to serve in the hour of danger as an excellent block-house or place of defence, until reinforcements could be furnished from Sylhet, distant about twenty-five miles.

During the few days of my residence at Pondua, I had the uncommon gratification of witnessing a caravan arrive from the interior of the mountain, bringing on

their shoulders the produce of their hills, consisting of the coarsest silks from the confines of China, fruits of various kinds—but the great staple was iron, of excellent quality, as already described. In descending the mountain, the scene had much of stage effect, the tribes descending from rock to rock as represented in Oscar and Malvina. In the present instance the only descent was by steps cut out in the precipice. The burthens were carried by the women in baskets supported by a belt across the forehead, the men walking by their side, protecting them with their arms. The elderly women in general were ugly in the extreme, and of masculine appearance ; their mouths and teeth are as black as ink from the inordinate use of the betel leaf mixed with lime. On the other hand, the young girls are both fair and handsome, not being allowed the use of betel-nut until after their marriage. In appearance they resemble very much the Malay. The strength of their arms and limbs, from constant muscular exercise in ascending and descending these mountains, loaded with heavy burthens, far exceeds our idea. I asked one of the girls to allow me to lift her burthen of iron,—from its weight I could not accomplish it. This, I need not say, occasioned a laugh in the line of march to my prejudice.

I now took leave of my Cusseah friends and returned to Sylhet, having established the ground-work of the lime trade upon a firm and permanent footing, so as to ensure success. I appointed British agents at Calcutta and elsewhere, so as to relieve me of the laborious part

of the duty. Fleets of boats now covered the rivers, and the trade increased so rapidly as to keep five or six hundred men in constant employ.

I now resumed the same monotonous life I had hitherto followed at Sylhet, the duties of chief magistrate and forms of court engrossing much of my time. Let it be recollected that for the last three years I had nearly lived the life of a hermit, without any society whatever. The few Europeans in the place were of the lowest description, with whom I could not associate, but my mind was of an active turn, and I found out various devices to furnish myself with occupation and pleasure in the hours of relaxation. Several ingenious workmen both in wood, iron, ivory and silver, attached themselves to my service, and afforded me a source of much amusement. We became also in great repute as elegant boat-builders ; in this department we particularly excelled, and it had the effect of leading me to the building ships of burthen, which I will mention in the sequel.—But a circumstance soon occurred to give me additional occupation. Our military strength did not in general exceed one hundred effective men, being a detachment of brigade sepoys, commanded by an officer ; the men were chiefly natives of the higher provinces, but the climate of the hills, and particularly the water, was so pernicious to their health that whole detachments were successively destroyed ; the party was in consequence withdrawn. Owing to this untoward circumstance, I proposed to the board to undertake the defence of the

province myself, at an expense far inferior to the former, with native troops formed into a militia corps. This was readily agreed to ; the command remained with me, and this arrangement continued during my residence in the country. My corps I increased or reduced as occasion required. I accompanied them myself in every service of difficulty, and my business of course was well done.

I hitherto had no medical assistance nearer than 150 miles, but necessity is the mother of invention. Buchanan's Domestic Medicine and a box of simples for several years rendered me independent ; I was even under the necessity of sometimes trying my hand with the knife, and more than once, when the barber's nerves failed him, succeeded in extracting barbed arrows from intricate places. A few successful operations raised my character so high, as to compel me to apply for a medical gentleman to relieve me from the constant applications I received as a descendant of Esculapius. A gentleman was in consequence sent up, who proved a comfort to me in future.

Occasional excursions into the interior country were my chief amusement, and an opportunity soon occurred, of which I availed myself. The Jointment Rajah, of the Cusseah tribe, was my nearest frontier neighbour ; he was by far the most powerful and the most civilised of the whole, holding large possessions, both on the mountain and the plain, about fifty miles distant. When a younger man, he had been misled by the false idea of

his own power, and he had in consequence been the aggressor by entering the British territories in a hostile manner; a regiment of sepoys drove him back and convinced him of his insignificance, and of the wisdom of remaining perfectly quiet in time to come; and he was now endeavouring to convince me of his perfect attachment to our government.

The rajah proposed my giving him an interview in his own country, to partake of a *chasse* he had prepared for me; and, after arranging the preliminaries of meeting, the day was fixed. By mutual agreement, we were to be accompanied by few attendants. It was during the season of the rains, the whole country being completely overflowed, and having the appearance of an extensive lake. I embarked on board a beautiful yacht of my own building, well manned, and armed with eighteen swivel-guns; and arrived at the place of rendezvous at the appointed hour, when, to my surprise, I saw advancing towards me a fleet of boats not fewer than fifty in number, with streamers flying, and fantastically dressed. As this was contrary to our agreement, I was not well pleased at the display, but betrayed no kind of alarm. With a fine breeze, all sail set, I steered through the middle of the fleet, and with my speaking trumpet hailed the rajah, and invited him into my boat.

He came accordingly, accompanied by his officers, and no sooner was he seated in the cabin than I could perceive his astonishment in finding himself enveloped in smoke in consequence of a royal salute from my Lillipu-

tian artillery, which were well served upon the occasion ; but he instantly recovered himself, and talked on indifferent subjects. I found him a handsome young man, with a good address. After examining the yacht and guns with attention, and particularly admiring the sailing of the boat, he requested me to accompany him to his barge to partake of the *shekar*, or hunting-party, previously prepared for our amusement. This proved of so uncommon a nature, and so seldom witnessed by Europeans, that it is worthy of description.

We rowed for some miles towards a rising ground, on which we landed ; and were then carried on men's shoulders, (their regal mode of conveyance,) to a temporary stage erected for the occasion.

On surveying the arena around us, I found that the enclosure was not less than thirty acres, surrounded by a stockade, and lined on the outside by the vassals of the rajah. They had previously driven the wild animals of the country to this place, being the highest ground in the plain, and encircled them. The sight was whimsically wild and magnificent ; the concourse of people was immense, the whole population, both of the mountain and plain, having turned out on the occasion. The first thing that struck my observation, upon entering the arena, was the singularity of the dresses worn by the different tribes of Cusseahs, or native Tartars, all dressed and armed agreeable to the custom of the country or mountain from whence they came. The inhabitants of the plain were also fancifully dressed ; their garb, in

many instances, was a mixture of both, their arms, in general, being those of the mountain, viz., a large shield over the right shoulder, protecting nearly the whole of the body, the mountain sword, a quiver suspended over the left shoulder, full of arrows, and a large bamboo bow.

The place into which we were introduced was a species of open balcony ; on either side of my chair were placed those of the rajah, his prime minister, commander-in-chief, and officers of state, who all appeared to be native Cusseahs, or Tartars, dressed and armed in the hill costume. The rajah himself affected the dress of a man more civilised, and wore the Mogul dress and arms. Upon my entering this apartment, he embraced me, and, our *hookah-burdars* being in attendance, we took our seats, each with his hookah in his mouth. Each man now prepared his arms for the magnificent *chasse* about to begin.

Upon looking around me with attention, I found that there were not fewer than two hundred of the largest buffaloes enclosed,—some hundreds of the large elk deer, a great variety of deer of a smaller description, and wild hogs innumerable. These animals were now galloping around us in quick succession, when the rajah, turning politely towards me, asked me to begin the *shekar* by taking the first shot. I was a bad marksman, and afraid to betray my want of skill in so public a manner ; at first, I declined the offer,—the rajah insisted ; I, therefore, raised my well-loaded rifle to my

shoulder, and taking a good aim, to my own astonishment dropped a large buffalo dead upon the spot. There was immediately a general shout of admiration. I, on my part, put the pipe into my mouth, throwing out volumes of smoke with perfect indifference, as if the event was a matter of course. But no power could get the rajah to exhibit from the apprehension of not being equally successful before his own people.

On my left hand, sat his *luskhar* or prime minister ; his quiver, I observed, only contained two arrows ; "How comes it, my friend," said I, "that you come into the field with so few arrows in your quiver ?" With a sarcastic smile, he replied, "If a man cannot do his business with two arrows, he is unfit for his trade ;" at that moment he let fly a shaft and a deer dropped dead, —he immediately had recourse to his pipe, and smoked profusely.

The loud and hollow sound of the *nagarra*, or war-drum, and the discordant tones of the conch shell announced a new arrival. The folding doors of the arena were thrown open, and ten male elephants with their riders were marshalled before us. If it is expected that I am to describe the gorgeous trappings and costly harness of these animals, or the sumptuous dress of the riders, disappointment must follow ; my savage friends were little accustomed to stage effect or luxuries of any kind. The noble animal had not even a pad on his back ; a rope round his body was his only harness ; the rider was dressed nearly in the garb of nature, and the

hook with which he guides the animal was his only weapon.

A motion from the rajah's hand was the signal to advance. The buffaloes at this unexpected attack, naturally turned their heads towards the elephants, and appeared as if drawn up in order of battle. The scene now became interesting in the extreme. The elephants continued to advance with a slow and majestic step, also in line, when, in an instant, the captain of the buffalo herd rushed forward with singular rapidity, and charged the elephants in the centre. Their line was immediately broken ; they turned round and fled in all directions, many of them throwing their drivers, and breaking down the stockades—one solitary elephant excepted. This magnificent animal had been trained for the rajah's own use, and accustomed to the sport. The buffalo, in returning from his pursuit, attentively surveyed him as he stood at a distance, alone in the arena. He seemed for a few minutes uncertain whether to attack him or rejoin his herd. None who do not possess the talents of a Zoffany can describe the conflict that now took place. The elephant, the most unwieldy of the two, stood on the defensive, and his position was remarkable. In order to defend his proboscis, he threw it over his head—his fore-leg advanced ready for a start —his tail in a horizontal line from his body—his eager eye steadily fixed on his antagonist. The buffalo, who had hitherto been tearing the ground with his feet, now rushed forward with velocity—the elephant, advancing

with rapid strides at the same moment, received the buffalo upon his tusks and threw him into the air with the same facility an English bull would toss a dog—then drove his tusks through the body of the buffalo, and in that position carried him as easily as a baby, and laid him at the rajah's feet.

The elephants that were routed were brought back to the charge, and some of them behaved well; but we had much more reason to be pleased with the courage of the male buffaloes, who attacked in succession. I consider them the fiercest animal in the world; for there is nothing they will not attack.—I continued with the rajah for three days, until the air became putrid with the dead carcases; I then bid him adieu, and returned to Sylhet.

Upon studying the dispositions of the Cusseahs with more attention, I found (as I have already stated) that they were not altogether to be depended upon; they were jealous of each other in the extreme, and a supposed indignity was seldom forgiven; it was therefore found expedient to treat them with perfect politeness but with more reserve. In my block-house at Pondua, I had now fixed a permanent establishment of a black officer and twelve men; and fortunate was it I had taken this precaution. The Cusseah though honest and open in his dealings, is extremely jealous of his honour, and apt to take umbrage upon trivial occasions where no offence is intended, and an affront to any one individual is resented by the community at large. I had therefore

carefully to study their disposition, and sometimes to wink at an occasional burst of passion on their part, or apologise for the like behaviour which frequently occurred from the petulance of my own people,—even serious disputes were thus occasionally compromised without stating the case in a formal manner to government, but an affray of a more alarming nature soon occurred, which was not terminated without serious difficulty.

On a certain occasion, when returning to Sylhet, I gave directions to my black officer in charge to permit none of the inhabitants of the plain to soil the beautiful walks or grounds around my dwelling. It unfortunately happened that a hill chief, from a distant mountain, came down a few days afterwards, and, thinking it a favourable situation, he was found by the officer in the very act of offending, and being laid hold of, he was ordered to throw the noxious deposit into the river. The Cusseah told him that he was a total stranger, and that the offence should not be repeated, but that he neither would nor could act as directed, as it was against the laws of his religion. Upon this, the officer gave him a few heavy blows with his cane, and compelled him to obey. In a few emphatic words, he said, "This day you have prevailed—it is my turn next;" he immediately clad himself in the garb of despair, (which is a couple of yards of white cotton, with a hole for the head in the middle, the hair thrown loose,) and in this manner he sallied out to the Pondua bazar. Towards the evening, the shrill war-whoop was heard in every direction, as

the Cusseahs retired to the mountains; not a man was seen below for several weeks; at last they descended in considerable force; the offended chieftain singled out the officer who had insulted him,—they fought and both fell.

I had previous warning of what was to pass, and reinforced my small garrison, but the enormities committed by the Cusseahs against the defenceless inhabitants of the plain became very serious. I was compelled, in consequence, to stop all communication and passage of provisions; to retaliate was impossible, for you might as well attack the inhabitants of the moon as those on the mountain above; they showed much barbarity in their resentment, many instances happening of their killing and scalping their prisoners, not exactly in the manner practised in North America, but by cutting from the crown of the skull the size of half a crown, with skin and hair attached to it, which is preserved as a trophy. This desultory kind of warfare had lasted some time, when amity was happily restored; but I had no longer the same inducement to visit my favourite haunts on the hill.

The Chumtullah, or freebooters inhabiting a wide extent of country under the hills, thirty miles from Sylhet, were yet even a more numerous and more troublesome people. Upon one occasion, returning from Dacca, they attacked my boat in the river, and wounded several of my men with arrows; in consequence of this, I sent an express to Sylhet, desiring them to send down what men

they could spare. Sixty accordingly came, and I entered their country during the night.

Most fortunately, I did not take the direct road, but a circuitous one, almost impassable ; for an ambuscade had been laid during the day. I found the people infinitely stronger than I expected, and that my force was not adequate to theirs. Towards evening, when I was meditating a retreat out of the country, a large body of men appeared advancing in regular order on the plain. I now saw the full extent of my danger, but was determined to meet it with a good face, and boldly marched up to them. When upon the point of firing upon my supposed enemy, I had the satisfaction of seeing a white flag displayed, demanding a parley. The chief came forward, and told me, they were friends and ready to assist us in our undertaking,—that he had seen us from the distant hills, and had come to our support. Being thus reinforced, the state of affairs became totally altered ; I took up a convenient position in their country for some days, and remained until they gave me ample security for their behaviour in future.

This operated as a serious lesson to me to be more prudent, for at no period of my life was I in such danger as on that occasion.

The collection of the revenues was now reduced to so regular a system as to give me no trouble whatever ;

but the interior police and the civil court of justice required unremitting attention. As in other uncivilised countries, the natives were litigious in the extreme, and they were not without their lawyers to render their simple story as complicated as possible. The *hud shekest*, or infraction of boundaries, formed at least nine-tenths of the causes before the court. The boundaries of the land under cultivation were well defined, but in the wild regions, covered with trees and brushwood, there is no landmark or mode of ascertaining to whom such lands belong. Nor does the party injured ever complain when his opponent first begins to clear the jungle, but watches the progress, as an unconcerned spectator, until the whole is cleared—then loudly complains of being forcibly dispossessed of his property. In such cases the decision often leant to the side of the industrious man, particularly on the high ground, such improvements being always attended with much expense.

I had myself taken much pains to infuse into the Ze-mindars, or proprietors of the high grounds, a spirit of industry, of which their soil was well deserving. The population was abundant, and fully equal to make the whole a garden, but I was met on every side with apathy and indifference. Although they had every advantage of soil, they did not grow a grain of wheat in the whole province. I assured them that that crop would double the value of their lands,—they promised that, if I would furnish them with seed, they would sow it, and pay every attention to its cultivation. I accordingly im-

ported fifty measures of grain, at the time of their annual meeting, and distributed to each Zemindar an equal proportion, promising at the same time a high price for the produce next year. During the currency of the season I made frequent enquiries, and the invariable answer was, "that the crop promised well;" but when the revolving year came round, it appeared that not one man out of the whole had put the seed into the ground. They had argued the case among themselves, and voted it an infringement that ought to be resisted, and my wheat was baked into cakes.

The oppression of the Mahometan government was not yet forgot, and it must be many years before these people can fully understand the nature of a free constitution, where every man benefits by his own industry.

I had, at very considerable expense, introduced the culture of indigo and the silkworm, and presented to the presidency very fair samples of both; but I was obliged to abandon the undertaking from the heavy inundations the country is subject to from being in the vicinity of the mountains, and which occasionally swept all before them.

The growth of coffee also occupied my attention. I brought a great number of plants from a distant province, where it was cultivated. Being on the point of leaving Sylhet for a few months, I gave the plants in charge to my native gardener, with strict injunctions to defend them. Upon my return, being anxious to see the progress they had made, I found that they had com-

pletely changed their character ; some were larger than before, others smaller. Upon further examination, the gardener acknowledged that the goats had broke in and destroyed most of the plants, and in consequence he had gone to the woods, and furnished himself with an equal number of plants of the same description. I fortunately still preserved a few of the old stock, which were carefully planted out with those newly acquired, and in due time they both produced the identical coffee—and thus established the curious fact, that the coffee plant was the indigenous or natural growth of the high ground of this country. But I left it to my successor to prosecute the cultivation or not, as he thought proper, my other avocations fully occupying my time.

Having, in the foregoing page, mentioned my being much occupied in the court of justice, I will here relate an incident that happened to me, which for the moment gave me uneasiness. Trial by water and by fire were occasionally resorted to, when a difficulty in decision occurred to the judge. One day, two men were brought to me, in my official capacity, the one accusing the other of having stolen a piece of money from his girdle. The accused person solemnly asserted his innocence, called God to be his witness, and demanded the ordeal, or trial by water. The plaintiff cried out, “Agreed! agreed! water! water!” The surrounding multitude looked to me, and I ordered, with magisterial solemnity, that the will of God be obeyed. The Cutchery, or court of justice, stood on the banks of a beautiful pond. In a few mi-

nutes both plaintiff and defendant plunged into the water and disappeared. The supposed thief instantly floated to the surface, and acknowledged his guilt, but the accuser was not to be seen, and for some minutes I was under much alarm, having countenanced the frolic,—so offered a sum of money to any person who would dive to the bottom and bring him up; this was effected, just in time to restore life, which was nearly gone. He had clung tenaciously to the weeds, and was determined to die upon the spot rather than abandon his claim.

My next alarm was still more ridiculous. In walking to the court, I was accosted by a mendicant priest in these words, "If you are a gentleman you will give me money; if you are a *decoit* (or robber) I have nothing to expect." I gave him a blow with the palm of my hand for so insolent a speech, when he fell prostrate on the ground, as if dead. I went on without paying him the smallest attention, and in four or five hours, returning the same way, found him still lying in the same position; my attendants first lifted a leg, then an arm, and reported him dead! I certainly felt an unpleasant sensation, but stooping immediately to the ground, I picked up a straw and, tickling his nostrils, the air resounded with his sneeze! to the no small astonishment of the bystanders. The mendicant had a good whipping in consequence.

CHAPTER V.

To return to my commercial operations. I have already mentioned that elephants formed a very considerable branch of trade in these sequestered regions. They are found in considerable numbers, under the same range, where the hills are not so precipitous, at Chittagong, Tipperah, and Sylhet; each of these places furnishes annually a considerable number for the use of our armies, but these stations united could not supply the number required, had not the elephant flock an easy communication with the adjacent country of Aracan, Pegu, and Siam; these countries produce elephants to any extent, which migrate to us occasionally, and supply our walk when it proves deficient. This observation will be fully understood when I state, that, in the twelve years I resided under these mountains, at least five hundred elephants were caught annually, by an equal proportion from each station. Most fortunately for the population of the country, they delight in the sequestered range of the mountain; did they prefer the plain, whole king-

doms would be laid waste. As it may prove interesting to my family, I will endeavour to describe, in as few words as I can, the method we adopted in catching, training, and taming these wonderful animals. I think I may with safety affirm that few people have caught so many, or are more conversant with their natural history than myself. I speak from the experience of twelve years, during which period I caught from 150 to 200 annually. During the Mogul government, Sylhet was always considered the chief station, and upon my arrival here I found the very important remains of the old establishment, viz., six *coonkies*, or decoy females, completely trained to the business; without their powerful assistance nothing can be done. There were also still remaining many experienced old men, regularly brought up to the profession. I therefore started under every advantage.

Early in October, when the periodical rains subside, we sent out to the hills frequented by the elephants, eight or ten *panjallies*, or tracksmen, to make observations and reconnoitre the forest. They had often to travel fifteen days' journey ere they reached the place of destination. Their business was to ascertain as nearly as possible the number and quality of the herd; this requires considerable experience, and, as the jungle, or thicket, is too thick to allow them a full view of the herd, it can only be learnt by examining the marks of their feet in the mud, the quantity of dung, the broken branches, the underwood trodden down, and the remains

of the bamboo, which is their favourite fodder. When the panjallies are satisfied that the numbers will justify the expense to be incurred, they send back two of their number to give intelligence.

Two bands of people have in the mean time been victualled and prepared for service under distinct leaders, the one body to join the panjallies in the forest, the other to prepare the *keddah*, or enclosure at the bottom of the hill. The detachment, destined to the forest, take the field first; from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men are generally required for this purpose. When they arrive upon the spot, the leader of this little band parades his troops, and, marching at their head, drops a man every two hundred yards, thus forming a line of circumvallation round the herd. At night each man lights a fire at his post, and furnishes himself with a dozen joints of the large bamboo, one of which he occasionally throws into the fire, and the air it contains, being rarefied by the heat, it explodes with a report as loud as a musket. The elephants, being thus intimidated, confine themselves to the centre of the wide circle, which certainly does not contain less than a hundred acres. After a few days' pause, the number and description of the herd being now completely ascertained, preparations are made to return towards the plain.

The party on the plain below have, during this interval, been completely occupied in forming the *keddah* or enclosure, which is prepared at the mouth of a ravine or entry into the hills. Attention is paid that the *keddah*

be well supplied with a stream of water, and the greatest care is taken not to injure the brush-wood or turn up the soil at the entrance, as this would alarm.

When this enclosure is reported complete, the circle upon the mountain is opened on the side of the plain, and the people advance by slow marches, encircling the herd each successive night, until they reach the vicinity of the low country. The circle is now open for the last time; the leading elephant, with a slow but cautious step, feeding and walking alternately, and finding no obstacle in the way, gradually enters the enclosure,—the people behind now rapidly rush forward, driving the elephants before them with a quick pace, until they all enter. After walking round the enclosure, finding themselves entrapped, they rush back to the place through which they entered, but this they find strongly barricaded. The whole enclosure is now lined on the outside with people; fire and musquetry are also used when violence is resorted to; and it frequently occurs that a successful charge is made, the animals break through the enclosure, and the whole escape.

We then, for the first time, have an opportunity of examining the herd minutely.—In the keddah to which I now allude, we found seventy-two in number, including the old and superannuated, the young and middle-aged, and the cub just dropped. This at once accounts for these sagacious animals allowing themselves to be caught in so simple a manner, I may say without a struggle,—for, during the period of fifteen days' march

towards the plain, at the rate of ten miles each day, they allowed themselves to be encircled each successive night, without ever attempting to force the cordon ; this seeming indifference can only be attributed to the uncommon affection and attention the females show to their young ; for, rather than abandon her offspring in their distress, she resigns herself to voluntary slavery. In order to corroborate this theory, I will mention a fact of which I had ocular proof when standing before the ked-dah we now talk of. In the hurry of stopping up the gap at which the elephants entered, two of the females had wandered from the flock ; their young had entered with the rest of the herd ; for several days they continued to bellow and walk round the enclosure, and at last forced their way in by breaking down the stockade. Nor is the mother's attention confined solely to the sucking cub, for, upon this and other similar occasions, I have seen three or four young ones, the brood of successive years, following their mother, alike claiming her protection, and clinging to her in difficulty.

I found from experience that the numbers of full grown males thus taken, are by no means in proportion to the females of the same age ; the reason is, that the captain of the herd allows none to remain but such as pay obsequious obedience to his will. He has himself fought his way to this despotic pre-eminence by many a hard-fought battle, as his numerous scars testify, and woe be to him that dares show attention to any of the females in his presence. Few chuse to be members of

the society on such terms, and the males thus expelled are found wandering on the plain in solitude ; they are of the very best description, and are afterwards caught with the assistance of the tame elephants. They are called *goondahs*, and their character as warriors being thus established, they fetch a double price to the common sort.

But to return to the keddah :—the elephants, having been enclosed eight days, and everything bearing the appearance of vegetable being at last consumed, begin sorely to feel the effects of hunger, and are glad to approach the side of the enclosure to pick up small quantities of grass, thrown to them by the guards. After being still more reduced by famine, each wild elephant is surrounded in the enclosure by half a dozen decoy females ; large ropes are passed round its body, and it is lugged out of the keddah by force. In this operation great assistance is given by the tame ones, who assist in passing the ropes, and even beat the wild animal when refractory. He is now drawn to the bottom of a large tree, and there picquetted with strong ropes.—The mode of training is as simple as that of catching :—they are led to the water each day by the decoy elephants ; the wild animal is in the centre, and a decoy on each side, so that he can do no harm. For a few weeks his keeper is cautious in approaching his trunk, but he soon makes him more familiar by giving him salt tied up in a leaf, which he is very fond of. It is in the water the elephant is first mounted ; the driver

leaps from the back of the tame elephant upon his; at first, he is highly displeased, but, with coaxing, throwing the water over him, and scratching his back, he soon becomes reconciled, and in less than two months he learns to obey his keeper, and becomes tractable. In the course of the year he is well fed, and prepared for a distant market.

I fortunately had several confidential native servants, on whose integrity I could implicitly rely,—one, in particular, of the name of Manoo, a Hindoo. To his care I frequently entrusted from fifty to sixty elephants, giving him the wide range of Hindostan for his market. In those days, when the country princes were in full power, there were constant demands for them, either in the war department or parade. The average price at a distant station was from £40 to £50; when sold singly, their price varies as much as a Highland pony to the first Newmarket racer. The natives have beauties and blemishes in their opinion of them, of which we know but little. They have their lucky and unlucky marks. An elephant born with the left tooth only, is reckoned sacred,—with black spots in the mouth unlucky and not saleable; the *mukna*, or elephant born without teeth is thought the best. No animal differs so much as the elephant in his paces,—some of them are smooth and pleasant, others are only fit for heavy burthens; when well trained for a gentleman, he is a most valuable conveyance, as one may cross the roughest country on his back, at the rate of six miles an hour.

He is particularly useful in shooting, as you may traverse a forest abounding with fierce animals with impunity, bringing down a tiger or buffalo in your walk without danger. In the sports of the field I am surprised he is so little used; this is likely owing to the expense attending it, for a male elephant must in general be attended by a female, to manage him when refractory.

Had Providence, in bestowing upon these animals such strength and sagacity, far beyond other quadrupeds, given them courage in the same proportion, the power of man would hardly control them; fortunately they are the most timid animals in the world,—when found in a herd, they confine themselves to the desert and avoid the haunts of man; the barking of a spaniel would drive them into their retreat, were they a hundred in number. After they are rendered domestic they acquire confidence in their driver and are gradually brought to face their enemy, but it requires length of time before they will oppose either tiger, buffalo, or rhinoceros in the open field. Upon no occasion do they use their proboscis as an offensive or defensive weapon; it is only used to convey their food to the mouth, and in the moment of danger they throw it over their head, or put it to either side, as best calculated to screen it from danger.

In the keddah I have described, I saw a female with her proboscis nearly cut through, the pipe which conveys water to the mouth completely destroyed. I was curious to know what device she would fall upon to supply this

defect, and waited the period when she went to drink. She then dropped the trunk into the water about two feet, and, with her fore foot, closed the wound, by carefully bending the proboscis, so as to restore the suction of the injured tube,—and thus quenched her thirst ; no human ingenuity could have suggested a better resource.

Another trifling occurrence happened at this keddah, which deserves notice, as showing the memory of these animals. After the elephants were safely enclosed, we were making preparations to extract them, when one of the drivers called out, “Jaun Piaree, as I am alive !”— He was asked what he meant, and replied, “That is my elephant I lost twelve years ago.” He was laughed at by his comrades, but he persisted, leaped into the enclosure, and, running up to the animal, desired her to kneel down ; she did so, and he rode her out of the enclosure in triumph.

I had, among others, several superannuated elephants, who proved highly useful to me in carrying and removing wood, when we commenced ship-building. One day I had occasion to launch a mast into the river, but, the ground being a quagmire, it could not be effected by my people ; we therefore allowed the elephant to suggest the means. He launched half of it into the stream easily, but the ground did not allow him to advance further. After considering for some time what was to be done, seeing a few yards of rope tied to the end of the mast, he extended his trunk and got hold of it, and drew the mast to the shore. He then put the

point of his toe to the extremity, and giving it a violent kick, threw the mast into the stream.

One day I was dining in a large company at Dacca. The conversation turned upon elephants. I was asked what food they chiefly lived upon, when ranging the forest. I said, the hill bamboo; and when that was not to be had, branches of particular trees were broken off by them, to effect which they would frequently mount up with their fore-feet, and even pull the tree down when it was of moderate size. Upon this, there was a general laugh. This nettled me. Turning to Mr. Pottinger, (for such was the name of our landlord)—“Will you have the goodness to order out your elephant, and put the driver for half an hour under my orders?” This was accordingly done, and the party, full twenty in number, descended to the green to quiz the traveller.

I selected a tree which I knew the animal was fond of, and desired the keeper to conduct him to the bottom, and allow him to break off and eat one of the lower branches. Having done this, I directed the driver to make him mount up with his fore-feet; the man, who was an inhabitant of the low country, sat on the animal’s neck with his mouth open, not the least comprehending my meaning. Another long laugh from my convivial friends. “Gentlemen,” said I, “the elephant has more sense than any of you.”—I then ordered the driver to spur him in the neck with his hook; he did so, and the elephant raised his foot against the tree. “Strike harder,” I cried; he raised his other foot.

“ Harder still ! ”—he was now standing nearly perpendicular. “ Now coax him—now prick him gently ! ”—the animal now understood him perfectly ; he got the tree into motion, his body acting as a lever, working away until the roots were distinctly heard cracking ; he then threw his whole weight upon it, and came quietly down with it to the ground. The laugh was now on my side.—The fact is, the inhabitants of Calcutta and the towns bordering on the coast, are as little acquainted with the customs of the interior as they are in England.

It has been erroneously related by travellers that elephants shed their teeth occasionally, this they never do ; the teeth can only be got when the animal dies. My favourite elephant died at Sylhet ; I brought his tusks home with me ; they weigh fully eighty pounds avoirdupois each, and are eight feet in length,—the largest, I suppose, in Great Britain. They have more than once done their duty in corroborating some of the foregoing stories.

I have often heard my countrymen impeach the honesty of the lower ranks of the natives of India. In order to counteract this impression, I take this opportunity of relating a fact, which can hardly be instanced in more civilised society. I never had from government a contract by which I could dispose of my numerous elephants to advantage ; I therefore sent off annually from Sylhet, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into four distinct flocks, or caravans. They were put under charge of the common *peon*, or menial of the

lowest description, with directions to sell them wherever a market could be found, at Delhi, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, or Poonah. These people were often absent eighteen months.—On one occasion, my servant Manoo (already mentioned), after a twelvemonth's absence, returned all covered with dust, and in appearance most miserable ; he unfolded his girdle, and produced a scrap of paper of small dimensions, which proved to be a banker's bill amounting to three or four thousand pounds,—his own pay was thirty shillings sterling per month. I had no security whatever but my experience of his integrity—he might have gone off with the money if he pleased. But I never felt or showed the smallest distrust, and they always returned with bills to the full amount. When I left India, Manoo was still absent on one of these excursions, but he delivered to my agents as faithful an account of the produce, as he would have done to myself. Can stronger proofs of honesty be given than what I have now related ? I certainly was most fortunate in all my menial servants, having seldom or never changed them during a residence of eighteen years. But I must acknowledge I give the preference to the Hindoo rather than the Mahometan.

CHAPTER VI.

ABOUT the year 1780, I had a speculation in hand, of very considerable magnitude, but, it being in some measure connected with the political state of the country, I must premise a few words on that subject.

In the year 1778, my brothers James and John arrived at Madras from Europe, in the 73rd regiment, commanded by Lord MacLeod. The former was soon afterwards sent round to Calcutta, in command of the body-guard to General Sir Eyre Coote, the commander-in-chief. He was anxious to see the interior of the country, and proposed to visit me at Sylhet; but a circumstance soon occurred to prevent this desirable meeting, and to separate me for ever from a brother who was most deservedly beloved by all who knew him.*

* "During the time I have been in Bengal," writes Captain Lindsay, 29 Oct., 1780—"Bob and I have not been able to meet, though we should undoubtedly have contrived it, had there been any probability of my being ordered away so soon; indeed I had proposed a few days be-

The French had just sent out a powerful reinforcement to their fleet in India, under the command of Admiral Souffrein, the most able officer in their navy. Hyder Ali, by far the most active native prince in India, had at the same time made a rapid incursion into the Carnatic, intercepted and cut to pieces the left wing of our army under General Baillie, and conducted the officers prisoners to Seringapatam. My brother John, and General Sir David Baird, were of the number, and were confined in the same prison, and in chains, for three years and a half, until the conclusion of the war. Upon receipt of this distressing intelligence, General Coote embarked with his staff from Calcutta, accompanied by my brother James, and soon after fought the

fore we had any thoughts of moving so suddenly, to set out immediately to his part of the country, to pay him a visit.

"I had a thousand civilities and marks of attention shewn to me whilst I was at Calcutta, on his account; and people who could not have the smallest interest in saying so to me, spoke of him in a manner which sufficiently shewed how much he was both esteemed and respected by those who knew him there."

"I had letters from Bob some days ago," he subsequently writes—(Camp near Madras, 8 March, 1782,)—"he seems to be highly pleased at some late success he has had in trade, and he says he begins now to consider himself as a man worth money. He has written to me that he means 'to assist me in the purchase of a majority,' and desires me 'immediately to draw on him for £1500, that I may remit it to Europe for that purpose.'—Bob's offer is generous, and shews that he is of those who enjoy prosperity chiefly by sharing it with others. But I shall not remit any of Bob's money at present," &c.

memorable battle of Porto Novo, upon which the fate of India very much depended. All the great powers of these regions looked forward with the greatest interest to the issue of this action, as our weakness at that period was well known ; and were prepared by a simultaneous movement to crush us in every quarter, had the result proved unfortunate. Fortunately, General Sir Eyre Coote proved victorious, and drove Hyder Ali out of the Carnatic.

The French fleet had, in the interval, been more successful by sea, and completely destroyed our trade in the bay of Bengal ; the consequence was, that the greatest scarcity of provisions, nearly approaching to famine, prevailed over the Coromandel coast,—to obviate which, our government held out the most liberal encouragement to any person who would engage to deliver a certain quantity of grain at Madras. With more zeal than prudence, I tendered an offer to land at that place, within the period of eight months, in ships of my own building, five thousand tons of rice. The offer was immediately accepted, and to work I went.

The mountains of Sylhet produced wood and iron in abundance ; we had also canoe-builders and muslin-weavers—and they were taught to build ships and make canvas. But the difficulties I had to encounter in building, launching, and equipping a fleet of twenty ships, so far from the sea, were beyond belief, and let no mortal attempt so wild a speculation again. The principal difficulty I had to contend with, was the short space

allowed me by the climate. The periodical rains rise to a certain height, and then as rapidly subside, leaving the bed of the river dry for nearly six months of the year, so that I had no more than four months to build and launch the vessels. I had a British shipbuilder, a block-maker, a canvas and rope maker, to conduct the different departments, but it required the utmost exertion to get the ships despatched in time, before they were effectually closed in for the year.

Most fortunately, my health never failed me throughout the Herculean struggle, which eventually terminated better than I expected. My ships reached the salt water in safety and in time, and were loaded on the part of government. At this time a gentleman high in office, and even more speculative than myself, had long coveted my contract, and more than once hinted at my giving him a share of the concern; that I declined, but, finding the business too difficult to manage at a distance from my abode, I proposed to transfer the whole concern to him at prime cost. Most fortunately for me he closed with my offer, and thus relieved me from a sea of trouble.

In undertaking a concern of such magnitude, and fraught with the most serious difficulties, my prudence may certainly be called in question. In my own defence, I must fully acknowledge it was rash, but the idea originated upon the most disinterested principles of patriotism. A famine was raging on the coast, and we had no ships to carry down provisions, excepting such as

were built on the spur of the moment, by people as zealous as myself, in situations similar to my own ; and such exertions were assuredly of the highest importance to the government under which we lived, and had the good effect of proving the resources of the interior upon emergency. Much credit was also due to the ingenuity of the inhabitants, and their readiness to assist in forwarding our views, when public disaster called for more than common exertion. Upon this occasion, the inhabitants of Sylhet proved themselves conspicuously deserving of every commendation on my part, and entitled to my own personal gratitude.

In conducting these ships to the sea, near to that country already mentioned, called the Sunderbunds, there is a wide and uninhabited range of land, abounding with tigers, buffaloes, and every wild animal of the forest. Upon coming to anchor with the flood-tide, I went on shore to take a walk, and soon after espied a large herd of cattle at a great distance on the plain. A fisherman passing by at that moment in his canoe, I asked him what they were ? He said, they were wild buffaloes pasturing. I observed animals of a smaller description among them, and asked what they were ? He answered, that they were different kinds of deer, who cling to the buffalo for protection from the tigers, which are here very numerous. I asked him, if the buffaloes were particularly fierce to those who approach them ? In reply he said, " Be very cautious how you wound the buffalo, but you may take what liberties you please with the

deer." Upon this, I went again on board, and armed myself and servants with ball ammunition. Many of them shot well, and I was much inclined for some good venison. I put on a green silk gown, not to appear conspicuous.

As we advanced towards the numerous herd, it appeared to be a service of no small danger. I took a long shot at a rein-deer without effect, the buffaloes tearing the earth with their hoofs, and staring at us wildly. We had previously agreed, that, should any of them run at us, we should all immediately fire, and bring them up, but for this we had no occasion. We continued to advance within fifty yards, and, in less than half an hour, we dropped more than twenty of the largest red-deer. We then gave a general shout, when the buffaloes retired. One hundred men were sent to us from the fleet, but our whole force could not carry on board more than ten deer ; the vultures and other birds of prey fell heir to the rest, and I was not a little pleased to find myself and party safe on board after the dangerous amusement of the day.

After leaving my ships in a safe situation, I pushed down to Calcutta, to make the necessary arrangements as to delivering them over, as well as the favourable contract I had from government, but this proved a more difficult operation than I was aware of. Difficulties and objections of a serious nature occurred, but, as I had fortunately introduced into our mutual agreement a clause, referring all points of misunderstanding to the

arbitration of a mutual friend, he, with a liberal hand, settled every thing to our mutual satisfaction. By this arrangement I certainly lost at least £3,000; but the gentleman who purchased the concern had a sad prospect before him, as all the ships were of course built of green wood, to answer a temporary emergency, and could not last long. Under such circumstances I was fortunate in closing the concern.

A couple of months' residence at Calcutta enabled me to retrace my journey to Sylhet. In returning through the Sunderbunds, a circumstance occurred, which had nearly put an end to my worldly career. For the sake of expedition, I had embarked on board a fast-going express-boat. In the middle of the night, when passing through a rapid river with an ebb-tide, by a rush of the people to one side the boat was almost filled with water, and nearly upset. I jumped up, demanding what was the matter, and was answered that a tiger had leapt on board, and carried away the *gulleah* or bowman. I said, it was impossible, for we were at that moment going seven knots an hour, and impelled forward with a very rapid tide; the lantern was produced, and the most convincing proof appeared of the truth of their assertion. The tiger, in his exertion to get on board, had left much of his hair in the gunwale, and in the morning we discovered one of his claws in the seam of the deck. But the bowman was gone. The claw remained in my possession for many years.

Immediately after this accident happened, I dropped

anchor, and in the morning rowed to a wood-boat also at anchor in the stream ; the man told us the same tiger had attempted to board him the night before, but having boarding nettings fixed up, he was easily beaten off.

Tigers are in no part of the world more numerous than at Sylhet, but as their natural food of sheep, goats, and deer is abundant, I hardly knew an instance of their attacking a human creature, nor do the inhabitants hold them in terror ; but in the country I have described their character is totally changed in consequence of starvation. The deer in these regions are innumerable, but, the whole country being thrown some inches under water every spring-tide, though it operates in favour of the forest trees, the underwood is completely destroyed, so that the tiger, finding no shelter to enable him to pounce on his prey, is famished in the midst of plenty ; he is therefore compelled to take to the water for food, and thus becomes in a manner amphibious.

I returned to Sylhet with the same rapidity I usually practised, and I am sorry to say, the reader will find me again actively employed in building a ship, double the size of any I had hitherto constructed. She was a beautiful vessel, called the *Augusta*, four hundred tons burthen, pierced for eighteen guns. She was the phenomenon of the mountains, and the Cusseahs came from great distances to see her—to them, no doubt, a wonderful sight—the first, and without doubt, the last of the same magnitude ever built in that part of the world. We had now gained experience in the science

of building, and, instead of looking forward to a regular launch, as happened the former year, we dug a large dock, and therein laid the keel, trusting to the periodical rains to float her off the ensuing year. I have since that period puzzled many a nautical man with my story of building a ship of four hundred tons burden, three hundred miles from the sea, at least fifty miles from water to float her—and all perfectly true; the periodical rains cleared up the mystery.

I was in some measure led into this wild speculation a second time, by an amateur of science, who drew beautifully. The plan originated with his genius; he proposed to take an equal share of the concern, and I could not do less than call the ship after his daughter, Augusta. The laborious part entirely remained with me; when money was required, he cheerfully paid his proportion, but, in the sequel, I had to contend with many difficulties, from which I could only be extricated by my own bodily activity and sound constitution, which happily never forsook me. I accompanied the vessel through a most intricate and hitherto unexplored navigation, to the vicinity of the sea. On the passage down, the ship frequently grounded, but, being furnished with good anchor boats, we hove her off without difficulty. My troubles I thought now at an end, having anchored at a place called Luckypore, near to the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, two of the largest rivers in the world. Captain Thomas, who was named to the command of the ship, here joined me, and I had

the satisfaction to find in him a man fully deserving the most implicit confidence. This was a point of most essential importance to me upon the present occasion.

Next morning, he and I embarked in a good sailing boat, and crossed and recrossed this great river, at this place full twenty miles broad, and, after sounding the channel with every attention, nowhere could we find more than fourteen feet water, the Augusta, with her water and stores, drawing full seventeen! I leave you, my friends, to judge, in what an awkward situation I was placed,—my ship and cargo, value at the least £40,000, hermetically sealed up in fresh water, without the prospect of ever reaching the ocean. The ridicule I had to encounter for a few hours vexed me—but the question now was, how to get out of the scrape. Two row-boats well manned were now ordered; Captain Thomas embarked in the one, and I took charge of the other. Our object was to abandon the large rivers as impracticable, and to search for a passage to sea through the narrow channels, or creeks, with which this wide delta abounds; and we succeeded in finding deeper water in the river called Harringotta, a smaller branch of the Ganges.

Here my partner, Mr. R., joined me, and assisted me in preparing instructions to Captain Thomas respecting the voyage now before him. The ship was destined to the Straits of Malacca, with a valuable cargo of opium, and eventually to stop at Macao in China; and I proposed to my partner, to insert a clause authorising Cap-

tain Thomas to dispose of the ship also, provided a favourable opportunity occurred.

It was now the beginning of December, and the most favourable season for getting clear of this dismal and dangerous navigation, the water as smooth as a mill-pond,—and well it so happened, for we had still to cross a bar of ten leagues extent, on which there was not more than six inches more water than the vessel drew; but, as I had previously sounded, and the wind was fair, I recommended the captain to hoist every sail he could set, and thus we forced the ship through black mud till the captain pronounced us in perfect safety. He then candidly informed me that he never expected to save the ship, but my good fortune prevailed on this occasion, and still more so in the sequel.

For nearly twelve months we had no intelligence whatever, but a letter from Canton soon afterwards conveyed to me the pleasing intelligence that Captain Thomas had made a successful voyage, and that the concern was completely wound up by his disposing of the Augusta to the Portuguese at a fair price.—And thus closed my shipping speculations.

I find I have still one aquatic adventure more to mention, in which a friend happened to have a concern. There chanced, at the close of the shipping concern, to be an overgrown lime-boat, or lighter, lying in the Sylhet river. A certain Captain Taylor, evidently not a little mad, had long petitioned me for employment without effect. At last, he urged me to put a deck on the

lime-boat, and proposed to run her down before the wind to Madras. This I agreed to, upon the condition that the vessel, on her arrival, should be sold as fire-wood. Captain Taylor made out his voyage most successfully, but instead of breaking her up, as proposed, he changed the name of the "Golumpus" to "Prince William," bestowed abundance of yellow ochre on her sides, and advertised her in the public papers, "For Bengal direct; for freight and passage apply to Captain Taylor." My friend John Carstairs had just arrived from England, and, reading the advertisement, the only question he asked was, "Who is your owner?" Taylor answered, "The Hon. Robert Lindsay;" and Carstairs embarked next day with a fair wind.

It blew a gentle breeze, not more than three knots, when the ship broached to. All was soon put to rights, but this having occurred again more than once—"What is the meaning of this, Captain Taylor?" asked my friend. The captain coolly replied, "How can it be otherwise, sir? the vessel has no keel, sir! her bottom is a flat as a pancake, and she is no better than a dung-barke!"—Carstairs, after studying the features of the man, remained silent, trusting to Providence for the result. Most fortunately the weather continued fine and the wind favourable,—the smallest reverse would have sent them all to the bottom.

I must conclude the history of my ships by quoting a paragraph from one of the last letters I received from my mother in Bengal:—"I understand, my dear Ro-

bert, that you are a great ship-builder—your talents in this line I do not dispute—but I have one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not come home in one of your own building," and I implicitly followed her advice.

I must now return to my domestic occurrences of Sylhet.—In 1781, and the preceding year, there had never been such bountiful crops of rice, insomuch so that the granaries could not contain it, and the value of the commodity was so extremely depreciated, that it would not pay the expense of carrying it to market. I was therefore under the necessity of stating to government the total inability of the farmers to pay their rents, especially as, in this poor district, they had not the same resource as elsewhere, rice being our only source of revenue. A suspension of rent was in consequence allowed. No sooner was this indulgence granted, than one of those dreadful inundations took place, to which the country is subject, which in a few weeks involved the whole country in general calamity. The river, from being very low, rose thirty feet perpendicular, overflowing its banks and sweeping every thing before it; a more dreadful scene could not be imagined, nor could relief be given to the numerous objects who were seen perishing in the torrent,—the cattle and wild animals of every description were seen indiscriminately floating down the stream; the granaries upon the banks, filled

with the late superabundant harvest, were all swept into the flood,—and thus, from a general plenty, we were in the course of ten days reduced to a state of famine. All was gone, excepting a few partial stores on the high grounds.

The first thing I did was to despatch express-boats in every direction to bring back the grain we had sent from the province some time before, now finding its way to distant markets ; in this we succeeded, and part was brought back, but we had a dreadful prospect before us ; the greater part of the last year's crop was destroyed, and, what was worse, the rice lately planted was so completely laid under water that it could offer no hope of relief.

My own case was embarrassing, for I had now to give the supreme board an account directly opposite to that I had lately furnished. Government, however, immediately assisted us, but, at the same time, my story appeared so very improbable, that they sent up a confidential person to report to them, from ocular demonstration, the actual state of the country. From the scarcity that prevailed, this gentleman never reached me, but his report of the desolation and misery he saw in the lower country fully corroborated my previous statements, and government, in consequence, gave much assistance ; but, I am sorry to say, near one-third of the population died.

I must here mention one instance of the industry of the people at this juncture. They sent up and brought rice-plants from the seed-beds on the high grounds, but,

their low-lands being under water, they were obliged to plant them in a manner not altogether new, but seldom practised, and to which I was frequently an eye-witness. The work was carried on in canoes ; in one end of the boat were deposited the rice-plants, on the other side a heap of well-tempered tenacious clay ; the boatman, holding two or three rice-plants in his left hand, attached to each a lump of clay, and dropped it into the water ; it thus became anchored in eighteen inches of water. Many hundred acres of ground were thus cultivated, and this furnished in due time a considerable resource, so as to save many of the inhabitants from famine. In the situation so described, provided the flood during the periodical rains rises gradually, the plant will grow to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, always keeping its head above water ; but, if rapidly overflowed and depressed under water even for one night only, it never recovers.

Upon going to Decca a few months afterwards, I saw many instances of men and women diving from their canoes to tear up from the bottom roots of grass and other vegetables as a miserable food for their famished cattle. Nor were the sufferings of the unfortunate natives yet ended ; when the new crop was nearly ready for use, no persuasion could prevent them from satisfying their craving appetites, the frequent consequence of which was immediate death, or diseases which occasioned dropsy and dysentery, which destroyed many.

CHAPTER VII.

DURING my residence in India, when our affairs were less prosperous than at present, the country was more or less convulsed by occasional commotions. I speak of the period when Mr. Hastings visited Benares in the year 1782, and the temporary revolt of Rajah Cheit Sing and Vizier Ali. By a well-constructed plan, they had nearly succeeded in taking Mr. Hastings and his body-guard prisoners ; had this been effected, the whole of India would have been in arms and open revolt, being justly disaffected ; as it was, there was considerable agitation in many of the provinces of Bengal, and it was partially felt even at Dacca and Sylhet.

At this last place, the Mussulmen had become uncommonly violent. The period of the *Moharum*, or annual festival of the Islam faith, was approaching, when a deputation from the Hindoo inhabitants came privately to inform me that they had certain intelligence that the Mahometans meditated an assault upon our government on that day, and that it would likely commence by an

attack on the Hindoo temples in the town. I told them that I could not believe it, as they had hitherto shewn no indication of riot.

My military force, at that time, being a good deal scattered in the province, not more than forty or fifty men could be mustered, fit for duty; and I desired my *Jemautdar*, or black officer, to have all in readiness in case of a fray. Nothing occurred during the day of festival until five in the evening, when the Hindoo inhabitants rushed into my house in numbers, covered with marks of violence they had received from the Mahometans. I went into my room for a few minutes, dressed my pistols, and gave them to my favourite black servant, desiring him to keep near me, and, if he saw me in danger, to put them into my hand. I carried a light horseman's sword under my arm. There was no time for delay, as the town was on fire in different directions. With my small force I marched to the place where the crowd was collected, and found, to my surprise, that the numbers were much more considerable than I expected. As I advanced, they retired to a strong position upon a hill, and there took post. I followed them to the top, and drew up my sepoyes on a table-ground directly opposite to them, where they stood with shouldered arms.

I then went forward, with my black officer, to hold a parley on the spot.

I found their leader a priest of considerable rank, at the head of three hundred men. He was insolent in his manner; I was perfectly calm. I told him that I pre-

sented myself before him in the capacity of head-magistrate—that I was informed a fray had happened, which I would investigate next day, and render justice where due—that my object at that moment was to compel him to lay down his arms, and retire peaceably. He immediately drew his sword, and exclaiming with a loud voice, “This is the day to kill or to die; the reign of the English is at an end!” aimed a heavy blow at my head; this I was fortunate enough to parry, but he struck so hard that my sword was broken, and little more than the hilt remained in my hand. My black servant at the same moment thrust a pistol into my hand, which I instantly fired, and the priest fell,—and so close were we in contact that his clothes were set on fire.

My sepoys in the rear, seeing my dangerous situation, discharged a platoon while I stood in front, from which I miraculously escaped. My black officer and I rushed back into the ranks in time to prevent their giving way; we then charged with bayonets, and drove the armed multitude over the hill. At that moment there lay an old man wounded at my feet, and a sepoy was on the point of transfixing him with the bayonet, when I diverted the point with my foot, and saved the poor man. I mention this circumstance, as it is connected with a story hereafter.

I had now time to look about me and survey the mischief that had been done in so short a time. The high priest and his two brothers were lying dead on the ground, and many of his dependents were wounded; on

my side, one sepoy was killed, and six wounded. Most fortunately my people did not give way—if they had, every European in the place would have fallen. I now asked for my assistant, Mr. —, who I supposed had been killed; he soon appeared, and candidly informed me that the scene was too much for his nerves, and that he had retired during the combat.

My next duty was to convey the wounded men home, and dress their wounds; having no medical assistance, my situation for the night was not a little alarming; my rope-maker, of the name of Job Hinton, was an able hand with the needle, and he was busily employed in sewing up the wounded men lying in my hall. I was ignorant at that moment as to the extent of the revolt in the town, and demanded the immediate attendance of the principal Mahometan inhabitants as hostages during the night; and I had them all in the house, when a person of the name of Beck and several other Europeans came running into my room for protection, assuring me that the people were assembling in force, and coming to burn my house,—but it proved a false alarm; the people were marching in solemn procession to bury their dead by torchlight. I now thought it my duty to send out a military force, and let it be known that no honours could be allowed to those who had thus rebelled against the existing government. A petition was presented next day in humble terms by the relatives of the high-priest and others who had fallen, when no objection was made to their private interment.

This event was of too serious a nature not to be reported to government ; they immediately ordered a reinforcement of troops, supposing me under temporary difficulty ; but the tumult soon subsided, and the order was countermanded.

In order to show the troublesome people I had to deal with, I shall mention the following anecdote. An inhabitant of the village of Sylhet, by trade a silversmith and of some note, requested a private interview. He told me that one of the Cusseah chiefs had lately come down from the mountains, and lodged next him in the town,—that, from circumstances which had appeared, he was afraid a conspiracy of an alarming nature was carrying on, of which I was not aware,—and produced a letter he had picked up, addressed to my commandant of sepoys ; the language, he said, he did not fully understand, but advised me to send for the Cusseah interpreter. I accordingly did so. The man, upon reading the paper, started and hastily shut the door ; the letter was addressed as described—to my commandant of sepoys. This person was possessed of my full confidence, and I was not a little alarmed and mortified to find that he was in correspondence with the hill chief to betray and put me to death. The letter contained the following words :—“I perfectly understand your last communication, and will act accordingly. On Monday morning, two hours before break of day, I will surround the house of your chief, and take him and his whole establishment pri-

soners. You, and your sepoys who are in my interest, must be on the watch, and shall be amply rewarded."

This was indeed enough to startle me. I retired to my room, and dressed my pistols—I then sent my European servant for Reim Khan, my commandant, and told him, that I had ever considered him as a trusty man and faithful servant, but I had some information against him, which made me alter my opinion. "You are now under arrest, and"—turning to my servant—"there is a brace of pistols—watch this man during the night, and if any resistance is offered, or a rescue attempted, shoot him through the head." The commandant then delivered up his sword, and I retired.

To the informer, in the adjoining room, I held a different language. "My friend," said I, "I am infinitely obliged to you for your information on this occasion, as you have probably saved me and the settlement from the greatest calamity,—and, be assured, you shall be amply rewarded when the conspiracy is fully traced; the commandant is now under confinement, and the proofs must soon appear. At the same time it is necessary to preserve the appearance of justice. It is my duty, as chief magistrate, to place you also under custody. I must also send to your house for your trunks containing your papers, and have them examined in open *durbar*."^{*} The man appeared in much agitation, and asked if such were the reward of his services? I promised him full justice

* Court.

in due time. In a few hours, his papers were before me and inspected, when a scene of villainy appeared, which proved him an offender of no common standing. I found that the letter he had produced, and also the seal attached to it, were forgeries; and various attempts were found among the papers till they had reached perfection,—and even the government official seals were done with the utmost nicety. He was of course consigned over to the regular courts for trial, and my commandant received public honours, to prove my approbation of his past services.

I had never hitherto been in the practice of riding out in the country with attendants of any kind; I preserved the same plan, knowing that, if I had betrayed any fear, there would be no end to alarms; but an incident occurred soon after, to show that fanatical zeal had been roused to resent the death of the high priest, which made me more cautious in future.

My friend, Robert Hamilton, (a captain in the army, son of a gentleman of the same name, formerly laird of Kilbrackmont,) came to pay me a visit. We were sitting together at dinner, which had just come in, when my servant informed me that a *fakeer*, or mendicant priest, wished to speak with me on urgent business. Although the hour was unseasonable, I desired him to be admitted. I was sitting at the top of the table, Hamilton at the bottom, next the door,—the priest entered and stood immediately behind him. He began his story by informing me, that he had been robbed on

entering the province, and, being plundered of all he possessed, he looked to me for redress. There was an irritation in his manner, and a wildness in his eye; and his right hand rested in the *cummerbund*, or cloth which encircled his body. His appearance alarmed me, therefore, without changing my voice or manner, I said, "Hamilton! slip behind that man and knock him down,"—he hesitated—"Obey my orders!"—Hamilton was a strong man and, rising up, with a blow from behind laid the priest prostrate, but, in the act of falling, he aimed a blow at Hamilton with his poniard, which he had held concealed, and, finding he had missed his aim, immediately buried the steel in his own breast. The priest fainted from loss of blood:—when, having recovered from his swoon, I asked him what his motive was for this atrocious act, his answer was that of a madman, "That he was a messenger from God, sent to put to death the unbelievers." My suspicions were thus fully verified, and, had I not acted as I did, I must have fallen a sacrifice.

The poor creature lingered some weeks and then died, but never altered his statement. Instances, such as I have described, frequently occurred to me, owing to the annual assemblage of fanatics at the shrine of the tutelary saint.

Before I quit the subject of the foregoing affray, I must return to the death of the high-priest, and the old man lying wounded at my feet upon the top of the hill, it being connected with the following singular occur-

rence. In my domestic circle, long after my return to this country, I had more than once told the story relative to the death of the high-priest. I was listened to with interest, but was evidently allowed the latitude of a traveller,—when, more than twenty years afterwards, my veracity was fully confirmed in the presence of my whole family. In taking my usual morning's ride along the coast, I passed the door of our clergyman, my worthy friend, Mr. Small. There I perceived a man standing, dressed in full Eastern costume, with turban, mustachios, trowsers, girdle, and sandals. To his evident astonishment, I accosted him in his own language,—“Where were you born?”—“In Calcutta”—“*Toot baut*—it is a lie,” said I, “your accent betrays you; you must belong to a different part of the country.”—“You are right, sir,” he replied, “but how could I expect to be cross-questioned in a foreign land?” With a salaam to the ground, he asked my name and where I lived. I pointed to the house on the hill, and desired him to call upon me next morning.

He came accordingly, and my numerous family were all present at our conversation in the Hindostani language. I first asked his name—“Seyd-ullah,” he answered; “How came you to tell me a lie, the first question I ever asked you?”—“You took me by surprise, sir, by addressing me in my own language. The fact is, I was born at a place called Sylhet, in the kingdom of Bengal, and came here as servant to Mr. Small's son, who was purser of the ship. A gentle-

man of your name," he continued, "was well known in that country, and in London I endeavoured to find him out, but in vain,—nowhere could I trace him."—"Suppose," said I, looking him full in the face, "that I am the man?"—He started back with horror in his countenance—"What! did you kill the Pier Zada?" (the son of the high priest)—"Yes," I replied, "I did; he attacked me sword in hand, and fell a victim to his own rashness." Seyd-ullah immediately recovered his composure. When I asked him what was the opinion of the people on that subject, he answered, "Some approved your conduct, others disapproved," and, putting his hand on his breast, with a slight inclination, said, "I was but a boy."—"Where were you during the fray, Seyd-ullah?" said I. "On the top of the hill, near the houses," and, with a harsher tone, he added, "you killed my father also."—"Was he an old man, Seyd-ullah?" "Yes."—"Your father was not killed in action; I saved his life myself,—am I right or wrong!" He said, "You are right; he was severely wounded, and died in consequence some months afterwards."

Seyd-ullah confirmed in broken English my former details on the subject. He would not allow that his father was actually the slave of the high priest, but styled him his salt-eater, or dependent. He said that the Pier Zada and his two brothers fell in the affray, with several others of their adherents, but would give no account how the disturbances originated, further than that the country was at that moment in a con-

vulsed state. He afterwards, at the desire of the ladies, entered into a minute detail of the history of his country, stating in every instance things as he wished them to appear, not as they actually were. He was asked what was his particular talent? to which he replied, that he had been long famed for dressing the best curry in the world, and that he always carried about with him part of the ingredients. He was desired to return next day, when the other materials should be provided.

The following morning, the family governess appeared as usual at breakfast; her manners were embarrassed, and she evidently wished to communicate something of importance. "I am sensible," said she, "that no attention should be paid to dreams, but," bursting into tears, "when a scene is represented in such dreadful colours as it occurred to me last night, I should be more than culpable if I did not do every thing in my power to avert the calamity with which the whole family is threatened. I dreamt, Mrs. Lindsay, that a black man came from the extremity of the East, and poisoned Mr. Lindsay and his whole family, and I beg and entreat, as you value your lives and happiness, that the curry may not be put on the table, or the consequences may be dreadful!"

In spite of this good lady's advice, Seyd-ullah attended at the proper hour, and prepared a curry to suit my palate, when, just before dinner, an audience was demanded by Mrs. Lawson, the old housekeeper, in the next room, when, with much agitation, she said, "You

know, madam, I am not apt to be troublesome about trifles, but I think it my duty to mention that I narrowly watched the dressing of this curry, and not in one single instance could I trace the man tasting the dish himself; I told him he surely had not put in sufficient salt, but no—no—he knows too well what he is about; therefore pray, ma'am, prevent Mr. Lindsay from eating this curry.”—The same remonstrance was re-echoed by my whole family,—never was a dish better dressed, and never did I make a more hearty dinner.

I was well aware of Seyd-ullah's reasons for not tasting the curry; the fowls, of which it was composed, were killed by the cook,—had he drawn the blood, and said the usual prayer, he would have had no scruples. And thus finishes the story of Seyd-ullah and the Pier Zada.

CHAPTER VIII.

BUT to return to my narrative. I have already stated that, at an early period, I had incurred the displeasure of many of my seniors in the service at Dacca, by stepping so neatly into the appointment I held at Sylhet, nor had they forgot the advantage I had thus gained over them. Several of these gentlemen had now attained high situations in the board of revenue, and occasionally, in their official capacity, thundered out unpleasant orders to me. In one of these they announced, in very laconic terms, that they had thought it advisable to give the province over which I presided, in farm, to a certain black man, who was privately under the immediate patronage of one of the gentlemen alluded to ; to this native I was directed to deliver up the collection of the revenue. They did not even condescend to assign any reason for that transaction, although my instalments had been regular. This by no means gave me the same uneasiness it did on a former occasion, for I knew well

there was not a black man in the country equal to the task.

All I had to do then was to temporise. The black arrived and was received by me with apparent kindness; I even assisted him in making large remittances to Calcutta,—and, in consequence, he stated to the board the great use I had been to him in putting him in full possession of the province. This was a great object to me, for I knew well the turbulent people would break out as usual during my absence. My health now required a little relaxation from my unremitting exertions, and I determined upon a visit to Benares and the upper provinces, with my friend Robert Hamilton.

We left Sylhet during the rains, and travelled in elegant boats up the Ganges. As the route is as well known as that from London to Dover, a description of the country would be superfluous,—particularly as it was entirely overflowed.

* * * * *

A few miles below Patna, I fell in with a boat belonging to an old Dacca acquaintance, Mr. David B——. Without any ceremony I went on board, but had not that immediate access to the cabin I expected. After some time, my friend made his appearance, but there was a hesitation in his manner, which shewed that my visit was not altogether well timed. As the door of his cabin was half open, I had a glance of the interior—

"Hollo, David," said I, "what is this you are about? you have got carpenters at work,—you know I am an amateur and will cheerfully lend you a lift—as I am alive, you are in the musical line!"

David was evidently discomposed at my blunt manner, but, recovering himself, "The truth is," he replied, "I have been in this state, lying *perdu* upon the waters for some months, trying to arrange a plan I have long had in contemplation, and which, I flatter myself, will soon bring my name into celebrity; but, Lindsay, as we have been long acquainted, I will, upon a promise of secrecy, give you an outline of my plan. Those bungling rascals, for I can call them by no other name, by their defective short-hand writing, mutilate and destroy the effect of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Fox's best speeches in parliament, so that one can hardly trace the original meaning; now, my friend, my object is," (lowering his voice to a whisper,) "to place this same instrument in the house, and play the speech off with the same volubility as it is spoken, and not one syllable will be lost!"—He took me accordingly into the stern cabin, and showed me the progress of his work; but, as the machine was still in embryo, I cannot enter into the particulars of its construction. I observed that it was furnished with keys and types, but I have not yet learnt that my friend David has succeeded in gaining the laurels of which he was so sanguine.

I remember at an earlier period of our acquaintance, the world had nearly sustained an irreparable loss by

his attempting to walk over a small branch of the Ganges —on water-shoes. This failed, from a trifling defect in the construction. I bade adieu to David, and proceeded towards Patna.—I had almost forgot to bestow on my scientific friend that tribute of gratitude so justly due from me. On leaving his boat he made me a present of some Caledonian newspapers. On examining them at my leisure, I found an advertisement from the agents of the York-Buildings company, stating that certain estates belonging to them were on sale; and as an encouragement to intending purchasers, the money might remain in the hands of the buyer for a term of years. It immediately struck me that, upon such favourable terms, I or any man might become a landed proprietor; I therefore, without a moment's delay, despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase. This she accomplished with equal promptitude, purchasing, at that happy moment, the estate of Leuchars for £31,000, which most assuredly is now worth double the amount, or more. In quoting this circumstance, I discharge my duty to David B—.

We passed some weeks most pleasantly at Patna. It is a beautiful country, in a high state of cultivation; the people are industrious and happy, with every appearance of comfort. The husbandmen are there employed in two distinct branches of farming, which greatly attracted my notice,—I mean, the cultivation of opium, and rose-water. Sugar, indigo, and other valuable plants, are also an endless source of wealth, so as to

constitute this and the adjoining districts by far the richest I had seen in India.

From hence we proceeded to Benares, the seat of Hindoo learning,—and, as the British government of India has never interfered, but rather protected the votaries in all religious rites, this great seminary was never in a more flourishing condition than at the period I visited the place. We fortunately arrived on the day of the great Gentoo* festival, particularly sacred to the deity who presides over the flood, and whose attribute is to administer happiness to mankind by distributing to them, in due season, such portions of the divine fluid as he knows will best suit the wants of the people and fertilise the soil. It was during an eclipse of the sun, and at twelve o'clock, when it was most obscured, more than half a million of souls, from all parts of Hindostan, were standing up to the middle in the water, offering up their prayers to the great God of the universe in his different attributes. Men, women, and children were here promiscuously intermixed. The whole female population were in the water, and sailing in my boat, gliding up with an easy sail, I could with my glass, from behind the Venetian blinds, distinctly discern their features and complexions, which are certainly much fairer than they are generally reported to be.

The town of Benares itself is only remarkable for the Hindoo temples and elegant minarets, which every-

* Hindoo.

where attract the eye ; the streets are narrow and uncomfortable, but it is without doubt a place of great wealth.

I meant upon this occasion to have gone higher up the river, and indulged myself by visiting the higher provinces of Hindostan, but my curiosity was checked by receiving an express from the board of revenue, ordering me back to Sylhet with all possible despatch, as Gunga-govind, the black man who farmed the district, had in every respect failed in his engagements. This intelligence was not unexpected ; I therefore retraced my steps, and arrived at Sylhet in the course of the month. The errors committed during my absence were soon rectified, and my active occupations were resumed as formerly.

During my absence, a novel event had happened in our infant settlement ;—my assistant, W—— H——, had taken to himself a wife, the first European lady who had appeared at Sylhet. The superior charms of this fair one had long been the favourite topic of his conversation, and her miniature, suspended at his neck, pourtrayed a most lovely young creature. Her appearance, most assuredly, made me betray symptoms of disappointment, as she was directly the reverse of her picture. The connection originated in an early school acquaintance, succeeded by a long correspondence, which was nourished into platonic love of the most sentimental kind, and, when they met in India, it terminated in grievous disappointment on both sides ; and to such an

alarming height did their warfare arise, that I thought it my duty to interfere, in order to secure to the fair lady the respect due to her sex ; but in doing so I only betrayed my own ignorance of mankind, and brought upon my shoulders, as may well be supposed, the resentment of both man and wife. This connection, however, soon drove the poor devil to his bottle, to which he soon after fell a victim.

The society being now more enlarged, several Europeans having joined us, I gladly joined with them in such amusements as the country afforded. The forenoon was invariably devoted to business, and in the evening we adjourned for a few hours to a garden on the top of a hill, to which I had for a series of years paid particular attention. It was on one side covered with a thick grove of orange trees which I had planted, and which, from the rapid vegetation of the country, had become a wood ; on the opposite side of the hill, a clump of fir trees had made considerable progress—they were the only trees of that description I ever saw in India, had been brought to me, when young, from the Thibet mountains, and soon became a great ornament to the country. If Europeans were allowed to colonise, the high grounds of this and the adjoining provinces would soon become the most beautiful country in the world, from their industry and the fertility of the soil ; but this is not allowed by our legislature, who do not allow of British subjects settling beyond Calcutta, and for the best of reasons,—the second generation degene-

rates ; and we should eventually lose our character for activity and intrepidity, which alone supports our name in India.

In the cold season, we had shooting in perfection—peacocks, partridges, wild cocks and hens, and water-fowl in abundance ; but it was dangerous to shoot on foot, from the multiplicity of tigers and leopards that infested the woods. One day, while shooting with my Highland servant, John MacKay, he suddenly exclaimed, in his own broad accent, “Gude G—, Sir ! what ca’ ye that ? ” pointing at the same time to a huge animal in the path before him.—“That, John, is a royal tiger !”—“Shall I tak a whack at him, sir ? ”—“No, John ; ‘let be for let be’ is the surest plan.”

Another day, having marked a peacock into a large tamarind tree, I took aim and was about to draw the trigger, when I observed a leopard rapidly descending from one of the branches, on which he had been basking. I of course made a speedy retreat. There is seldom any danger to be apprehended when you can fix the eye of these cowardly animals ; they leap upon you when off your guard, not when discovered, and their blow is generally fatal.

In this country tigers of all kinds were extremely numerous, and there was a liberal reward from government for catching them. We caught from fifty to sixty annually, which afforded us much amusement. When a bullock is carried off by a tiger, the farmer gives information to the office ; the *panjalla*, or tracksman, traces him

by his footsteps to his den ; the drums are beat, the nets are collected, and the haunt is surrounded with the net to prevent his escape. A temporary stage is erected for the chief and his attendants. Elephants are ordered out to beat down the brushwood ; they soon succeed in rousing the tiger, and the gentlemen have an opportunity of shooting the animal in perfect safety. Upon one of these occasions we successively shot four tigers ; the crowd, supposing them all killed, jumped into the enclosure, when a fifth tiger sprung out from under a bush, and killed a man. This mode of catching is seldom practised, as it is oppressive to the inhabitants, occupying their time for several days. Another method, more simple and equally effectual, is resorted to.

Large traps, constructed of wood and turf, of an enormous size, not less than thirty-six feet long, with four doors successively opening from each other, are built in such places as the tigers frequent. The bait is a living bullock in the centre. The tiger may enter on either side ; on treading on a spring, the two counter doors drop, and he is secured, while the bullock remains in perfect safety.

A tube or cylinder, of about twelve feet long and eighteen inches' calibre—(made of mats and fortified with rope or ground rattans, and secured at the further end by two sticks run across it)—is now introduced ; and the tiger, being previously teased in the trap and abundantly anxious to escape, seeing this ray of daylight conveyed into his prison through the tube, gathers him-

self together, and darts into it, in hopes of finding a passage at the opposite extremity, but is stopped by the cross-bars. A man stands by to drive in two other bars across the end by which he entered.

No mouse was ever more inoffensive than this powerful animal now finds himself ; the whole space he has to move in is only eighteen inches' calibre, which barely allows him to move, and I have repeatedly taken him by the whiskers with impunity.

But his troubles are not at an end. He is now lifted upon a cart and conveyed to the town. The place chosen for his public *début* was generally an old mosque surrounded by a high wall, enclosing full half an acre of ground. In this enclosure a buffalo awaited his arrival, and stages were erected for spectators to see the sport. It signifies but little whether the buffalo is in his wild or domestic state ; they have in either case the same antipathy to the tiger, and attack him wherever they meet. In the present instance the buffalo was in his tame state, brought from his daily occupation in the field, and submissive to his driver.

But the moment the tiger entered, his character changed ; he foamed at the mouth with rage, and with fury attacked his opponent. The tiger put himself on the defensive, threw himself on his back, biting and tearing the limbs of his antagonist, but the buffalo soon overpowered him and threw him in the air, tossing him from horn to horn with wonderful dexterity, until he was dead.

The leopard shows much more play, when thrown into the enclosure with the buffalo; in an instant, he is on the top of his back, and makes him completely furious; he then jumps from limb to limb, wounding him in every direction—but whenever the buffalo can hit him a fair blow, he is done for.

We sometimes, though not often, fell in with a rhinoceros. He is of a morose, sulky disposition, and shuns the other beasts of the forest. During the rains, one of a very large size lost his way and took refuge in a thicket within a few miles of the town. The drums, as usual, beat to arms, and the whole population turned out. The situation was favourable,—three small hillocks close to each other, covered with brushwood, and surrounded with water.

But to rouse him from his den was a business of no small difficulty. Finding himself surrounded, he lay close. We fired into the thicket and threw fireworks, without effect. At last we got a very long rope, and tied a log of wood to the middle of it; we then passed the ends to the two opposite hillocks, holding the weight suspended over the place where the rhinoceros lay, and at a signal given, we dropped it directly upon the animal's back. On this, he made a furious charge on our centre, but we received him with a shower of iron balls, which compelled him to retrograde. We continued to fire at him, with no effect whatever, owing to the toughness of his coat of mail. I ordered one of my servants to aim at him between the folds under the neck, in a

horizontal direction from the lower ground ; upon which he at last fell. I had then an opportunity of examining his body, and found that, (except the last,) he had not sustained any injury from the many balls fired at him. And I was not a little pleased to extricate myself from the crowd ; for the inhabitants from the adjoining villages, with a savage enthusiasm, had besmeared themselves with his blood, and were dancing around him with frantic wildness. Every part of the carcase possessed, in their opinion, charms for one disease or another, and was carried off piece-meal. It was with much difficulty that I secured the head and horn, which I brought home with me, and have now in my possession. I had also the curiosity to secure a collop, with which I made a very tolerable steak. Upon the first view we had of him, when charging us on the hill, he had all the appearance of a hog of enormous size. I never knew an instance of his coming in contact with the elephant or buffalo, but, from the powerful weapon on his nose, I think he would prove a formidable antagonist.

I must mention another animal, a native of these hills, the Gayaul, nowhere described in Buffon's natural history. He is about the size of a large English ox, but stouter in the body, and well made. He partakes of the cow and buffalo, but is evidently of a separate class. Attempts were frequently made to send them to Calcutta, but they always died when brought to the low country. Their milk was yellow as saffron, and in

considerable quantity. They are domesticated in the Chittagong and Tipperah hills, where I have seen them in considerable numbers.*

On visiting the country where the greater part of my elephants were caught, I fell in with a small tribe of hill-people, living more in the style of the brute creation than any I had ever met with. They are well known by the name of Cookies, and have their habitations on spreading trees, to defend them from beasts of prey. They live on wild honey and the fruits of the forest, and have but little connection with the people of the low country. I procured one of their children, whom I endeavoured to educate, but found his capacity very inferior; he was fonder of the society of a tame monkey than any other companion, nor did he, during the course of one year, acquire a single word of the language of the country. At last, he made his escape into the woods, and I never saw him again.†

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The year 1787 had now commenced, and I began to

* See, for a full description of this animal—(the *Bos Gavæus*)—communicated by Mr. Colebrooke, Vol. viii., pp. 511 sqq., of the Asiatic Researches.

† An interesting account of “the Kookies or Lunctas,” by John MacRae, Esq., will be found in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. vii., pp. 183 sqq.—Their living habitually in trees has been ascertained to be a mistake, occasioned by their practice, on expeditions of war, of march-

feel the effects of the laborious and active life I had led during eighteen years' residence in India. Upon balancing my accounts for the two preceding years, I found that my affairs had been more prosperous than I imagined. I therefore prepared, with a glad heart, to return home. . . . I embarked for England in January, 1789, on board the Britannia, Captain Cumming, and arrived there after a tedious voyage of six months. I found many of my friends in London in as good health as when I left them, particularly my excellent brother and best friend, Colin, then General Lindsay, who accompanied me to Scotland, having travelled the same road with me twenty years before, on my way to Spain. . . . The subsequent years of my life have been devoted to the education of my children and improvement of my estate, in both of which I have been most ably assisted by my best and faithful friend, my wife. It is now near thirty-five years since we were happily united, and during this long period, I have enjoyed in her society, and that of our numerous family, as much comfort and happiness as this world can afford. To her, with perfect gratitude and affection, I consign the care of the foregoing pages for the perusal of my family—thus fulfilling my father's advice in transmitting to my children this trifling memorial of myself.

ing by night only, and lying concealed during the day in their hammocks, "which they fasten among the branches of the loftiest trees, so that they cannot be perceived by any person passing underneath."

In consequence of my sight being much impaired by a cataract in my eyes, I write with difficulty; I have therefore dictated this sketch to my three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Cecilia.

ROBERT LINDSAY.

Balcarres, February 26, 1821.

TWO
NARRATIVES
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ARMY
UNDER
GENERAL SIR HECTOR MONRO AND COLONEL BAILLIE,
AND OF THE
BATTLE OF CONJEVERAM, 10 SEPT., 1780,
IN WHICH
THE DIVISION UNDER COLONEL BAILLIE WAS EITHER CUT TO PIECES
OR TAKEN PRISONERS;

BY THE
HON. JAMES AND JOHN LINDSAY,

73d Highlanders.

INTRODUCTION,

BY THE EDITOR.

Of the following narratives, that of Captain James Lindsay is extracted from a "Journal of the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali Khan, in the year 1780,"—sent by him to his brother, Lord Balcarres, in 1782, the year before he fell in storming the redoubts at Cuddalore, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

The other, by Lieutenant John Lindsay, (who had only attained the age of nineteen when he fell into the hands of Hyder Ali,) forms the introduction to his diary of the cruel imprisonment in Seringapatam, to which the defeat of Baillie's army subjected the survivors for nearly four years.

They are not both, however, strictly speaking, personal narratives, that of Captain Lindsay being merely preliminary to his account of the proceedings of the army under General Sir Eyre Coote, whom he accompanied to Madras on the news of Baillie's fate reaching Calcutta,—a circumstance I feel it necessary to remark, lest the expressions he occasionally makes use of,* as an enthusiastic, sympathising brother of that British army in general, and of that regiment in particular, which had then, in his absence, so nobly distinguished itself, should lead the reader to suppose he had been actually an actor in the scenes he describes. The communication of some friend, however, fortunate in that advantage, can alone account for the minuteness and precision of

* I allude to his use of the personal pronouns, *we, us, our, &c.*

detail which characterise his narrative, and fairly entitle *it* to the credit due to ocular testimony.—Who this friend was, I do not know,—with his brother John, Captain Lindsay had no communication whatever, from the hour of that brother's capture to that of his own untimely death at Cuddalore.

It will easily be understood, therefore, how unwilling I have been—illustrating each other as these narratives do, and throwing such light on the perplexed accounts of the movements of the armies previous to and during the battle of Conjeveram—to omit either of them, or to sacrifice their character of distinct, independent testimony to the facility of perusal which might have been obtained by harmonising them into one unbroken stream of story. To approximate to this, however, as much as possible, I have numbered the corresponding sections alike in both, so as to facilitate *comparative* perusal, *section by section*,—which I confidently recommend to the reader, as likely, in my opinion, to conduce most to his ultimate gratification.

Under this impression, and with the view of bringing at once under the reader's eye such additional particulars as the works of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, &c., supply me with, I have added a few notes, to which attention is invited by the self-same marks of reference in both narratives.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE HON. JOHN LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

IN the year 1777, being at that time a second lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, I was instructed to recruit with all despatch for a new regiment, which the Right Hon. Lord MacLeod had received orders to raise for the service of government. . . . I served with this regiment in various parts of Great Britain until the year 1779, when the Hon. East India Company, finding themselves unable to maintain their possessions in the East without the aid of government, petitioned his majesty that their settlements might be strengthened by a speedy reinforcement. Accordingly, Lord MacLeod's regiment, which I had the honour, and also, I may say, the misfortune to belong to, was embarked for this service. . . . The regiment, after a long and tedious voyage, (having, on their passage, reduced some of the French settlements on the coast of Africa,) arrived at Madras in December, 1779, and landed near one thousand men, whose appearance, as they were clothed in the Highland uniform, struck the inhabitants with astonishment.



HON. JAMES LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

* * * * *

I. THE government of Madras at this period (the arrival of the 73d,) was lulled into the most fatal and supine security, and affected to treat the reports of Hyder's hostile intentions as without foundation, he being too wise a prince to attempt to cope with so superior a force ; with these impressions the army had, some time before this, been broken up and distributed in the different garrisons throughout their extensive country, it being considered an unjustifiable expense keeping them together. At this period, the governor of Madras sent an embassy to Hyder, the real purport of which being never published to the world, it told much to the disadvantage of the governor. Hyder treated the ambassador [Mr. Gray] with the most pointed contempt, and after the first interview, ordered him immediately to return ; and it is a well known fact that after this transaction he immediately began to collect his troops together. Reports therefore on all sides prevailed, that

Hyder was upon the point of entering the country, and Colonel Lang, who commanded Vellore, a garrison on the frontiers of his country, received the most certain intelligence that he had actually marched with his army from his capital. This officer transmitted his information to Madras, (¹) but the governor and council treated it in the lightest manner, and informed him that "he saw danger at too great a distance."

In the month of May, Hyder marched from Seringapatam to Colore, giving out that he was only gone to perform certain ceremonies at his father's tomb, who was buried there, but, in reality, the place was more convenient for collecting his numerous army. In June, finding all his preparations completed, he reviewed his troops, and found that they consisted of 45,000 cavalry, 30 battalions of sepoys, 70 pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of military stores of every kind, together with about 50,000 colleries and polygars. The French had, some time before this, sent him 300 Europeans; and Lally (a famous partisan, who had a body of troops of his own, consisting of 400 Europeans and some good sepoys, in his own pay,) entered into his service, and, it is supposed, was his principal adviser in prevailing [on] him to [invade] the Carnatic at this time (²).

He now moved towards the pass of Changama, and encamped upon his side of it, and sent 10,000 polygars to clear away the pass and make a road sufficient to enable his artillery and stores to pass through. In the be-

ginning of [July] he entered the Carnatic, and knowing that the sea-port town of Porto Novo, situated 150 miles from the pass, was one of the richest places in the country, he detached 2000 of his best horse, (³) under his second son, Kurreem Saib, who with the utmost celerity penetrated through the country and plundered the place, before the inhabitants could receive the smallest warning of their approach. Information of this transaction was sent to Madras, which the government, however, paid no attention to. In the meantime, Hyder (after reducing the forts of Changama and Polore,) advanced within fifteen miles of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. His numerous cavalry had by this time overrun the whole country almost to the walls of Madras, while the wretched inhabitants, who had before this been situated in plenty and ease, after being stripped of every thing they possessed, were in vast numbers carried into slavery, those that escaped arriving at Madras, where they some time after experienced a worse fate by dying of hunger.

The government of Madras was now fully roused from its lethargy, and began seriously to think of collecting an army to preserve their country; they attributed all their misfortunes to the conduct of the late governor, who, some time before the invasion, had gone home with an immense fortune, leaving behind him an exhausted treasury—but declared in a minute of council before his departure, that he had received the most satisfactory assurances of Hyder Ali's friendship to the English.

At this period there were not 3000 men collected together in any part of the country ; the principal cantonment consisted of the 73d regiment, the corps of artillery, and one battalion of sepoys, stationed at Poonamalee, fifteen miles from Madras ; Colonel Braithwaite had likewise a considerable body of troops stationed at Pondicherry, and Colonel Baillie commanded another body of about equal force, in the Guntoor Circar ; these two detachments had some time before this received orders to march to the Presidency. On the 20th of July, the Poonamalee detachment marched to St. Thomas's Mount, in order to accelerate the junction of the other two bodies ; on the 29th, Colonel Braithwaite joined, having fortunately met with no molestation from the enemy in his route ; Baillie was now making rapid advances towards Madras, and another detachment, consisting of two regiments of cavalry, and twelve companies of grenadier sepoy, were upon the march from the southern countries. The most sanguine hopes were therefore entertained that the [two latter] junctions would be happily effected.

II. Affairs were in this situation, when intelligence arrived that Hyder had opened batteries against Arcot. Mahomed Ali being apprehensive for the fate of his capital, importuned General Monro to march with the troops that were then collected at the Mount, observing that Hyder would raise the siege upon hearing that the army had moved. This scheme being approved of, Lord MacLeod was ordered to take the command, and march

towards the enemy. His Lordship, in answer, said, that he could not insure success with so small a body of troops, (⁴) observing likewise, that Baillie was now within two days of Madras, and that they ought not to move from their present situation until the junction of the whole was effected, as it might be attended with great danger if it were to be attempted nearer the enemy. This advice being disapproved, Sir Hector Monro arrived in camp on the [second of] August, and took the command.

Intelligence now arrived that Baillie was within one day's march of the army, and General Monro sent him orders to alter his route, and to proceed to Conjeveram, and that he would join him there (⁵).

III. August the [26th], the army marched from the Mount, the right wing commanded by Lord MacLeod, the left by Colonel Braithwaite—the whole consisting of about eighteen hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoys and thirty-four field-pieces; (⁶) the number of carriage bullocks and supply of provisions were but small, but the troops were given to understand that the garrison of Arcot would supply them with everything. The enemy's horse kept hovering about us in straggling parties, and not a village was to be seen in the country that was not in flames.

August the [29th], we arrived within sight of Conjeveram, and upon a nearer approach, a large body of horse moved out of the town, and made an appearance of attacking the advanced guard, who immediately

formed and gave them a smart fire, upon which they retreated into the town and set fire to it, as they went out at the other side. The army pursued their march, and encamped on a very strong situation two miles on the other side of the town, so as to be able to cover it from the enemy.

Every one was now greatly disappointed at Baillie's not having arrived, and the provisions of the army were nearly exhausted. The general, therefore, sent a battalion of sepoys into Conjeveram to look for grain, and large quantities were discovered buried under ground in the different streets of the town. The large pagoda was therefore pitched upon as a proper place to deposit a quantity of grain sufficient to serve as a magazine upon emergencies. The sick of the army, who by this time were become considerable, were likewise sent into it (⁷).

These operations took up some days, during which time the weather became so uncommonly rainy for that season of the year, that Baillie found it impossible to cross two small rivers, which were rendered impassable from the torrents of rain from the mountains; he was therefore under the necessity of remaining upon their banks until the waters should abate (⁸).

Hyder, during this period, had been intent upon the motions of our two armies, and, finding them in such a critical situation, immediately raised the siege of Arcot, with a view of cutting off the communication between them. He at that time detached his eldest son, Tippoo Saib, with a large body of cavalry and infantry, and ten

field-pieces,⁽⁹⁾ to attack Colonel Baillie, who by this time had crossed the two rivers that had so long impeded his arrival, and was advanced within eighteen miles of Conjeveram ; he had encamped his small army in a strong situation, his right flank strengthened by a wood, and his left by a large tank.

IV. On September the 6th, just as Baillie was going to strike his camp, he observed a large body of troops moving down in a column in his front, beating the English grenadier march, and clothed in scarlet,—which made him at first conclude that it was General Monro's army, but, upon their nearer approach, he found out his mistake ; they still kept advancing, and at the distance of two hundred yards, he opened his ten guns upon their column, which in a few rounds entirely broke their order, and they made a precipitate retreat into the wood upon the right. Their cavalry, which had concealed themselves in the rear of the column, immediately upon the infantry being broke, made a rapid charge upon the line, and were repulsed with considerable loss. In this interval, the enemy's guns had filed off towards the left, and, upon the repulse of the cavalry, now opened upon the line, and did considerable execution, as the army was drawn up upon the open plain ; but, after a hot cannonade of six hours, the superiority of Baillie's fire slackened the enemy's, and they even abandoned some of their guns, but Baillie's army was so small that he durst not make any detachment from the line to take them, as the enemy's cavalry

still kept hovering around, ready to take advantage of the least appearance of disorder or irregularity.

In this situation, the night approached, and Baillie expected a continuation of the action in the morning ; but the enemy drew off their guns in the night, and fell back five miles nearer to Conjeveram. The enemy suffered severely in the action ; at the same time, Baillie had not much reason to boast of his victory, having near one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, and his ammunition nearly exhausted (¹⁰).

General Monro, having heard the cannonade, immediately struck his camp, and, after sending all his tents and baggage into the pagoda, marched towards Baillie ; he had not proceeded above three miles, when he observed Hyder's whole army drawn up on the plain, and seemingly determined to dispute our further progress. Monro did not chuse to put it to a trial, but immediately halted and drew up his army in a strong situation facing Hyder's, leaving Baillie to his own single exertions (¹¹).

The army lay in this situation for three days, without their tents, exposed to the burning rays of the sun in the hottest season, and with the appearance of being effectually intimidated. Hyder, during this time, detached more troops to the assistance of his son, and on the eighth, at night, the general received a letter from Baillie with the accounts of the engagement, and that he was in such distress for troops and ammunition that he

found it impossible to proceed to Conjeveram, and therefore requested him to come to his assistance.

V. Monro's situation was now truly alarming ; he was apprehensive, if he marched with his whole army to Baillie's assistance, that Hyder would attack the pagoda in his absence, and as his total dependence for the present as well as the future subsistence of the army [rested] upon the safety of that magazine, the loss of it would fully answer Hyder's purpose, as they would be obliged to return to Madras. After fully deliberating upon this dangerous situation, he called a council of the field officers of the army, and it was determined to send the grenadiers of the army, consisting of ten companies of sepoys and four of Europeans, (¹²) to his assistance, with a supply of ammunition and doolies* for the wounded. The command of this body was given to Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher, who received express orders from the general to attempt nothing against the enemy upon the road, and likewise, that Baillie, after giving the troops a few hours' rest, should immediately move towards Conjeveram, and Monro promised to meet him half way.

VI. The detachment moved out of camp on the 8th, at nine o'clock, and a battalion of sepoys was desired to keep up a smart fire upon the enemy's outposts, in order to divert their attention from Fletcher. The detachment had proceeded without being discovered about four miles, when it was discovered that a large body of

* Litters.

horse were encamped in a wood upon their right, and that they were all asleep. Although Fletcher could with the greatest ease have surprised them, he however stuck to his orders and proceeded ; the flanking parties in a few minutes awakened them, and they in the greatest confusion mounted their horses, leaving many things behind them. After proceeding eight miles further, a small guard in our front came suddenly upon a considerable party of horse that were asleep in the road, every one of whom were bayoneted and their horses taken, without the smallest disturbance. It being now near break of day, our *hurkaras** plainly pointed out to Fletcher Tippoo Saib's camp at the distance of half a mile, and who appeared to be perfectly off their guard; this was an opportunity that seldom offers itself in the events of a whole war, and Fletcher showed himself sufficiently anxious to take advantage of it ; but, reflecting that, although there appeared a certainty of brilliant success, he would of course be answerable if any unforeseen accident should happen to the party, he was therefore, with the utmost regret, obliged to continue his march.

VII. When the day began to break, Baillie's camp appeared at the distance of two miles, and several parties of the enemy, that had been posted around, were surprised by our advanced guard. As the party approached, it was found that Baillie had cut the bank of the tank, and had overflowed a large space of the country in his rear, in order to strengthen his post ; we were under the

* Spies.

necessity of wading through this body of water, and, at seven o'clock, the party joined Baillie, (¹⁴) having marched twenty miles, which, with the fatigue that the troops had continually undergone for six days before, rendered General Monro's orders (of marching immediately) impracticable. Baillie, therefore, gave the army to understand that they would not march until eight in the evening.

The different parties of the enemy, that had kept continually hovering around the camp, disappeared during the day, and information was received that Tippoo was considerably strengthened, and meant to attack the army upon the march.

VIII. At eight o'clock, the troops were ready to march, and their order was laid down in the following manner :—Baillie's party, that engaged the enemy on the 6th, were stationed chiefly in the centre, and Fletcher's corps of grenadiers composed the right and left flanks of the army ; the ten field-pieces were distributed throughout the line ; the baggage, (which, with a vast number of followers and a large supply of cattle for the army, was very numerous,) was stationed upon the left flank, and guarded by a battalion of sepoys ; and a battalion and two guns composed the rear-guard, and a company of marksmen the advanced. The whole army consisted of seven hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys, (¹⁵) and at eight at night moved towards Conjeveram (¹⁶).

The enemy's cavalry and irregulars now made their

appearance, and continually rocketed the line, although the flanking parties did their utmost to keep them off; however, the road being excellent and the moon very bright, the army kept marching on at a very brisk rate, and, after proceeding about six miles, the line moved into a large avenue of trees, (¹⁷) it being the direct road to Conjeveram.

The situation being strong, the enemy's horse collected themselves into one body, and resolved to make a push before the whole got into the avenue; they accordingly made a smart charge upon the rear-guard, who received them very steadily, and after a smart discharge of musketry and grape, they retreated, but, having received a reinforcement, they immediately returned and threw themselves between the line and the rear-guard, expecting to cut off their communication. The situation being now become dangerous, they halted, and sent for assistance to Baillie, who had during this interval been advancing on, and found that he had unexpectedly entangled himself in Tippoo's encampment, who had by this time drawn up his army upon the left of the avenue, and now opened his guns upon the line. The followers of the army, who were stationed upon the left flank, being frightened at the execution the enemy's fire made amongst them, at this time broke through the line in attempting to escape to the other flank,—and in an instant threw the whole into the utmost confusion; fortunately it was so dark that the enemy could not perceive their irregularity, which they might have

taken the utmost advantage of. Baillie, having by this time received information of the danger the rear-guard was in, came to the right about, and arrived in time to extricate them out of their dangerous situation.

After these different movements had been performed, the line moved on towards Conjeveram, still keeping in the avenue, and the principal body of the enemy upon the left flank. Having marched in this situation upwards of five miles, the night being extremely dark, they opened some random guns upon the line, with a view of drawing Baillie's fire and to ascertain the ground the troops were marching over; their expectations were answered, for the line halted and commenced a brisk cannonade, which was returned with equal alacrity from them, and did considerable execution, especially amongst the camp-followers.

Baillie, having received information that the enemy might be successfully attacked upon their flank, detached ten companies for that purpose, but they returned without doing anything, having perceived that a deep water-course lay between them⁽¹⁸⁾. The cannonade had now lasted near an hour, when the enemy's fire suddenly ceased, and a perfect silence took place on both sides.

IX. Baillie, having found that he had suffered considerably, determined to halt until day-break, for the following reasons:—The troops were extremely fatigued, his numerous train of baggage and camp-followers were in the utmost consternation, and he had a very large supply of provisions for the grand army, which he ran

the greatest risk of losing, as he was unacquainted with the position of the enemy and likewise with the nature of the ground that he was to march over ; these reasons determined him to wait until the day broke, that he might see his enemy and take his steps accordingly (¹⁹).

Tippoo Saib, on his part, finding that Baillie had halted, immediately drew off his guns, and drew them up in front of a wood upon the left, in so strong a situation that they were almost equal to regular batteries ; the long avenue terminated at this place, and he knew that Baillie must move into the large plain in his front, it being the direct road to Conjeveram.

X. In this situation, the day appeared and the army moved on, without the smallest appearance of any part of the enemy in sight ; at half past six, they arrived at the termination of the avenue, and the troops wheeled up by subdivision, and struck into the plain. The enemy allowed nearly half of the army to advance in this manner, and then they all of a sudden opened their guns, at the distance of three hundred yards, with grape and round, doing very great execution. The line, notwithstanding, marched on for some time, without returning a shot, but Baillie found that the enemy's fire continued with such unslackening severity that he determined to halt and storm their guns. He accordingly formed the line upon the plain, and commenced a severe cannonade with the enemy, and having, after some minutes, gained a considerable superiority in his fire, he ordered ten companies of grenadier sepoys to the storm ; they ac-

cordingly advanced, but with such irregular rapidity that they entirely broke their ranks, even killing one another by their own fire as they advanced. The troops of the enemy, however, that were stationed about their guns, being still more frightened than the grenadier sepoys, no sooner saw that they were advancing than they gave a straggling fire, and fled with precipitation, abandoning seven guns with their tumbrils, which were accordingly taken possession of.

The line during this time were still more warmly employed; for, immediately upon the ten companies being detached, the enemy's cavalry, (which composed a body of nearly ten thousand, and who, during the course of the morning, had been concealed by a wood upon the right flank,) thinking this a favourable time to make an impression, moved out of their concealed situation, and came down upon the head of the line at a full gallop. They for two hundred yards advanced with such boldness and expedition as gave them every appearance of succeeding in their attempt, but, at the distance of forty yards, they received so smart a fire of musketry and grape as instantly checked them, and they reined up; but their numbers, pressing upon one another, prevented them from retreating back to their former situation; the whole body of them, therefore, galloped along the line, receiving their fire as they passed, doing very great execution. After they had cleared themselves, they unexpectedly fell upon the rear-guard, and would have cut them off if a reinforcement had not arrived timely to

their assistance ; being repulsed here likewise, as their last resource they made a feint of penetrating between the line and the party that had taken their guns, in the expectation that, on this appearance of the danger they were in, they would retreat back to the main body. That party had now been in possession of the guns half an hour, without forming their broken order ; when they observed this manœuvre of the horse, they instantly abandoned the guns without spiking them, and attempted to regain the line in the same confused manner that they had left it ; the enemy's cavalry, therefore, instantly charged in amongst them, so that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the horse immediately galloped up to their guns, which being taken possession of, their fire from that quarter became as hot as ever (²⁰).

XI. Baillie now secured his troops in a deep water-course in his rear, and continued an unceasing fire from his guns for near an hour, (²¹) and they at length obliged the enemy once more to abandon them ; but, as the army had sustained a very considerable loss, he did not chuse to make a second detachment from his line, as the enemy's horse still kept hovering at a distance, ready to take advantage of the least deviation from the strictest regularity. Colonel Baillie, as he had received assurances of support from General Monro, resolved to remain in his present situation, that he might by his arrival render his victory more complete.

XII. The army had now remained near an hour with-

out either receiving or firing a shot, and every instant expecting the arrival of the grand army, when intelligence arrived that Monro was advancing towards us out of the village in our front ; this was most welcome news to an army that was almost overpowered with the fatigue they had undergone,—and, a few minutes afterwards, a number of guns dragged by bullocks, and infantry clothed in scarlet, were seen moving out of the village, but, to the surprise of all, they were preceded by a large body of cavalry that in a few seconds covered the whole plain, and plainly demonstrated that it was Hyder Ali's whole army that had thus been able to give Monro the slip. It is impossible to describe the feelings of Baillie's devoted army, when they found that, instead of reaping a complete victory, they were surrounded upon all sides, and all possibility of safety at an end, if Monro did not soon arrive. In a few minutes they were entirely surrounded, and Tippoo's abandoned guns were again taken possession of, and—besides fifty others of Hyder's—immediately opened upon Baillie's little army, which still kept up a brisk fire from their ten field-pieces, although it was evident that a few minutes must determine their fate.

XIII. The enemy had now surrounded them in a complete circle with their guns and cavalry, keeping up a most tremendous fire from all quarters, which, from their nearness and numbers, did more execution amongst their own troops than Baillie's. At this period, the severe fire from the enemy blew up two tumbrils with

a great explosion, and the sepoys, who had all the day before supported themselves with the utmost steadiness and regularity, gave way (²²). The enemy's horse, thinking that all further opposition was now at an end, immediately rushed forward to the centre, when Baillie, with the Europeans that still remained, presented a steady and regular front to the enemy, who immediately stopped short, afraid to advance (²³). Baillie, on his part, finding all hopes of safety at an end, and desirous of preserving the lives of the brave men that still remained, put his handkerchief upon his sword and demanded quarter, which the enemy refused ; every one therefore determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, and the whole prepared to deliver their fire, when the commandant of the cavalry advanced from amongst the rest, and declared that quarter should be granted if the troops would lay down their arms. Upon this assurance, Baillie ordered the soldiers to ground. The horse, as soon as they saw this, immediately rushed forward, in hopes of being able to take advantage with impunity of their perfidious breach of faith ; but the soldiers, struck with rage and despair, instantly resumed their arms, and poured in a severe fire amidst the multitudes that surrounded them,—the horse, who were drunk with the fumes of opium that they had taken to raise their courage, and enraged at the great loss they had sustained, immediately after receiving the fire rushed forward, and in a few seconds Baillie's little body of Europeans were cut to pieces.

Hyder Ali, enraged at having purchased his victory with the loss of more of his best troops than those that he had overcome, immediately gave orders that no quarter should be granted, and his troops, who were of themselves sufficiently desirous to gratify their cruelty, without a spur from their leader, obeyed his commands with alacrity. All the wounded men of the former actions were, to a man, put to death, and the miserable train of camp-followers shared the same fate; in fact, in a few minutes more, there would not have been a man remaining, if the French officers who served in his army, struck with grief at their wanton cruelty, had not beseeched Hyder to spare the lives of the few that might still remain; representing to him, likewise, that it would be politic to have a number of the English prisoners in his hands. Hyder, more struck by this last consideration than from the principles of humanity, immediately ordered his troops to cease from slaughter, which was instantly obeyed. Of a hundred officers that were in Baillie's army, thirty-six were killed upon the spot, and fifty-four wounded, numbers of whom in a few days died from want of assistance; the proportion of the privates killed and wounded was still greater (²⁴).

XIV. Hyder, being now apprehensive that Monro would come up and attack him, immediately moved off to his former situation, leaving numbers of the worst of the wounded upon the field of battle (²⁵).

HON. JOHN LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

I. . . . A FEW weeks after the return of Mr. Gray to the presidency, it was rumoured that Hyder Ali was collecting a large force in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam ; and many intelligent natives declared that his intention was to invade the Carnatic. The Nabob of Arcot, Mahomed Ali, at a very early period acquainted the Madras government that they were shortly to be attacked, and called upon them to prepare their army for the defence of his dominions, as well as their own possessions.

The Nabob was so confident that his information was correct, that he ordered all his cavalry that were cantoned in the southern parts of his country, to prepare to march to Madras. The company's army, European and native, was at this period so completely dispersed throughout a coast of fifteen hundred miles of extent, that three thousand men could not have been collected to act in one body, in less than a month.

Mr. Gray's hasty return from Mysore inspired the court with no apprehensions, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, on quitting India at this period, congratulated his successor that he had left the government in such a flou-

rishing situation within, and so strong in alliance without. . . . The rumours of Hyder's approach increased every day, but the government of Madras remained incredulous.

On the 7th of July, the rumours of the invasion of the Carnatic were unhappily confirmed. Hyder Ali had received information that the open seaport town of Porto Novo was overflowing with riches and merchandise of all sorts, and, although three hundred miles from his capital, and in the centre of the Carnatic, with strong garrisons stationed in the interior, and also within a few miles of it, he formed the daring resolution to commence the war with the plunder of that place. For this purpose he selected three thousand of his best cavalry, together with an equal number of infantry, who were alternately to take the places of the horsemen⁽³⁾.

This force penetrated in four days from the passes that divided his country, and arrived at Porto Novo, no intelligence having been received of his approach. The consequence was, [that] the few troops that were in the town were cut to pieces, with the greatest part of the inhabitants, and the town itself, one of the richest in the East, was, in the space of a few days, completely pillaged. It was supposed that Hyder, independent of private plunder, obtained a greater booty in this place than he afterwards acquired in the plunder of Arcot, the capital. . . .

In this dreadful posture of affairs, without any army

capable of facing the enemy, and the garrison ill provided with provisions and warlike stores, it was supposed that nothing could resist the torrent; and had Hyder proceeded direct for Madras, the British power in India would not have been in existence one year afterwards; but, as he had little cause to think the British government had been so unprovided, he satisfied himself by laying siege to Arcot, and plundering the country with his horse, and, in the short space of one month, he sent off a million of cattle, and five hundred thousand inhabitants, to enrich by cultivation the barren parts of the Mysore empire.

In the space of three weeks, a small force of three thousand men was collected in the neighbourhood of Madras, under the command of Lord MacLeod, and infinite pains were taken with this small force to cover the country, and collect a sufficient quantity of cattle for the field-train to be ready to act, when an army could be collected. The enterprise of Hyder had been so hardy and well-conducted, that it was generally imagined he would destroy the army in detail, in their attempt to join; but the alluring prospect of speedily reducing Arcot, by which he calculated on raising the fame of his arms, detained him irresistibly at that place. . . .

II. It appeared about this time that, from a state of the utmost despondency, a degree of confidence and contempt of the enemy had usurped the place of their former sentiments. The plunder of the Carnatic, and

fears for the safety of Arcot, became every hour [more] intolerable, particularly with the Nabob, who trembled for the fate of his capital. Sir Hector Monro commanded the army, and had ever been esteemed a brave man. He was required to march towards Arcot,—it was opposed by Lord Macleod, on the plea that the force was inadequate,⁽⁴⁾ and that the two reinforcements were at hand. The plea was admitted, but it was observed that the movement of the army would alarm Hyder, and that Baillie, who was now only twenty miles from Madras, should march in a parallel line and join higher up the country⁽⁵⁾. The danger of this measure, in the face of an active enemy, was not sufficiently considered, and Sir Hector Monro left Madras, and directed his march towards Arcot, which is but eighty miles from Madras. [III.] The numerous bodies of the enemy's cavalry, hovering on the flanks and rear of the army, rendered the utmost circumspection expedient, as the loss of baggage or provisions in a country so completely in the power of the enemy would have proved fatal.

Severe and heavy rains at this period set in, and Baillie was compelled to continue his parallel line with Sir Hector Monro, being prevented by the unusual overflowing of a small river [from] crossing and joining the army; this circumstance began to create considerable anxiety, the more so as, approaching [Conjeveram], fifty miles from Madras, we observed the whole of Hyder's army, commanded by himself in person, drawn up and offering us battle. It appeared that he had

obtained perfect information of the position of the two armies, and the difficulties that had prevented Colonel Baillie from crossing the said river ; and finding Arcot a more difficult undertaking than he had imagined, he had raised the siege, with a view of resuming it should he prove successful in his projected attack on either or both of the British armies.

With this view, he detached his son, Tippoo Saib, with twenty thousand choice troops to attack Colonel Baillie as soon as he crossed the river. It now became necessary to receive any intelligence regarding the position or spot where Colonel Baillie was ; and the imprudence of not joining at Madras began to unfold itself. Immense quantities of grain having been found in Conjeveram, a dépôt was formed in the pagoda, which [it] became an object of infinite importance to secure.

Hyder's army remained in camp within a mile of us, and his flanks he had taken care to secure with strong intrenchments. A battle seemed to be inevitable on the first movements of either, and the result (considering the vast disparity of numbers,) pressed upon the minds of all with great anxiety.

IV. On the sixth of September, a long, heavy and uninterrupted cannonade of six hours was heard, and we concluded that Baillie had been attacked ; this consideration became the more alarming, as no diminution of Hyder's camp or force had been observed ; towards evening it finished, and we remained in profound ignorance as to the result⁽¹¹⁾. On the [eighth], in the even-

ing, an *hurkara* (or spy) from Baillie found means to elude the enemy, and arrived in the camp with a short note ; its contents were as follows :—" Dear General,— On the fifth I crossed the river, and on the sixth I commenced my march to join ; in the morning I was attacked by a formidable army, consisting of horse, infantry and guns, commanded by Tippoo Saib, and after a severe action I entirely defeated him ; he is now near me—I cannot come on. I am in want of everything, and expect you with anxiety.

V. The receipt of this letter threw General Monro into the greatest anxiety and dilemma ; the whole present and future subsistence of his army seemed to depend upon the preservation of his dépôt of grain at Conjeveram, while, at the same time, the preservation of Baillie, and indeed himself, depended on a junction : thus unpleasantly situated, he determined to maintain his position, and, even from his small army, to send Baillie a reinforcement of troops and ammunition.— Perhaps it was the wisest plan he could have adopted in such a complicated difficulty. Had he marched himself, he must have lost his magazine and probably his whole army. As it turned out, the destruction of Baillie was his preservation.—A body of fifteen hundred select men, composed of the flank companies of the whole army,(¹²) were, with infinite secrecy, collected and placed under the command of a gallant and experienced officer, Colonel Fletcher. Of this unfortunate body, I commanded

the grenadiers of the 71st regiment,* and my friend Captain (now General Sir David) Baird, the light infantry.

Colonel Fletcher received positive orders to attempt no enterprise on the road that he could avoid, and to confine his object to a junction with Baillie, who was eighteen miles⁽¹³⁾ distant at a village called [Perambaucum.]

VI. The troops marched out of the rear of the camp, unobserved by the enemy, and at the distance of about five miles from the camp, came suddenly on a body of two or three hundred horse, who were encamped upon the road. The horsemen were fast asleep; the whole or greatest part of them were bayoneted by the division, who did not fire a single shot on the occasion.

We had proceeded about twelve miles on the direct line to Baillie, when our guides pointed out to us Tippoo's camp on our left, with fires in various parts of it. His whole army seemed to be in a profound sleep, and had Fletcher chosen to have deviated from his orders, there can be no doubt but he would have destroyed the whole army, and had Tippoo been prepared to expect us, our fate would have been equally certain.

VII. At day-break we were gratified with a view of Baillie's camp, who turned out immediately to receive us with transports of joy, as they expected another action with Tippoo every hour, and were in fact in want of what we brought, troops and ammunition⁽¹⁴⁾. The confidence that this small reinforcement inspired is

* The 73d was afterwards so ranked.

inconceivable, and a fresh attack upon Tippoo was looked for with ardour.

VIII. The troops, having rested a very few hours, at [eight] at night, on the 9th of September, commenced their march in order to force a junction with Sir Hector Monro, who, it was understood, would keep a vigilant eye over Hyder's motions, and act accordingly. We were soon surrounded by numerous bodies of horse, irregular infantry, and rocket-men, who never ceased in their exertions, by keeping up an irregular fire, to retard the progress of the army, which moved on with much caution, having a convoy of sheep and cattle for the army. It appeared that Tippoo had been reinforced in numbers and in guns, as he opened twelve upon the line as it approached an avenue that leads towards Conjeveram, but the army moving on with infinite coolness, induced him to withdraw them to a strong position on our left, and he opened a heavy fire on the line while in the avenue, which the darkness prevented from being very effectual.

We were now within nine miles of Conjeveram, and had lost about one hundred men in the progress of our tedious and harassing march; and, as it was very dark, much of the convoy had been lost.

IX. In this position, the uncertainty of the position of the enemy, the amount of their force, fear for the remainder of his convoy, and the fatigue of his troops—induced Colonel Baillie to defer the continuance of his march until daylight⁽¹⁹⁾. On finding that the army had

halted, Tippoo Saib drew off his guns and placed them, covered by his infantry, within two hundred yards of the road the army was necessarily to pass on their way to Conjeveram. He did not neglect advertising Hyder Ali of the position of the army, and urged his support.

X. On the tenth of September, as soon as the day broke, Baillie continued his march. The enemy having entirely disappeared, the troops filed off from the avenue into the open plain, and had now approached within seven miles of Conjeveram, when Tippoo's battery on the left commenced a heavy and well-directed fire on the line with grape and round shot, which, in a few minutes, did very considerable execution. It became impracticable to continue our march, exposed to such a fire, and the line was immediately formed. The whole of Hyder's cavalry at this moment sallied from a wood, where they had lain in ambush, on our right, and, to the amount of ten thousand, made a furious and formidable charge on the advanced column.

The line was at this time formed on an elevated spot, and the enemy was permitted to approach at full gallop within ten yards; the army being now compelled to shew a front to the cavalry, the fire from the enemy's battery continued with great execution. A heavy and severe fire now opened from the advance of the British line, supported by six pieces of cannon loaded with grape, whose effect on the enemy's column was instantaneous and tremendous; this formidable body instantly halted, and the numerous wounded horses, wanting their

riders, appeared to throw the whole into confusion. Many of the head chiefs fell in attempting to lead on the horse, who were now in evident confusion, but who, being impelled by those in the rear, could not even retreat ; they were therefore necessitated to file off by the left, and consequently received the heavy and severe fire of the whole line.

It was afterwards discovered that Tippoo led on this formidable charge in person, and that twelve hundred of his choice horse were killed in this single charge. The cavalry, being now clear of the line, fell in with the rear-guard, consisting of a battalion of sepoy and four guns, and had they not immediately taken up a strong position, they would have been destroyed.

Being pressed extremely hard, Captain Powel, who commanded the rear, sent to Baillie requiring an immediate reinforcement. I was detached from the line, with my single company of grenadiers and two of sepoy. With this small reinforcement I joined the rear-guard, which enabled us to repulse the enemy, and while receiving my orders from Captain Powell, a cannon shot from the enemy's batteries killed him on the spot, and the command of the whole devolved upon me.

Baillie, having repulsed this formidable attack, determined to storm the enemy's guns, which continued to fire with unabated violence. For this service he selected ten companies of sepoy grenadiers, which he placed under the command of Captain Rumley, an officer of acknowledged gallantry ; it was suggested to him that

he would do well to place at the head of this body a company of European grenadiers, but he replied he could not spare them from the main body. This force advanced against the enemy with infinite firmness and under a heavy fire.

Captain Rumley divided his small force, and attacked them in front and flank at the same time. The enemy, finding they continued to advance, fell into confusion and fled, abandoning their guns, which were immediately taken possession of,—the defeat the horse had experienced seemed to have dispirited them. The enemy's cavalry, seeing their guns in our possession, abandoned the rear-guard, and made a desperate attempt to recover them. The troops under Rumley had not recovered their perfect order when this body charged them in the flank, and, after a considerable resistance, threw them into confusion. They attempted to make their retreat to the line, having abandoned the guns without spiking them. The enemy's cavalry pursued them with vigour to the line, and out of eight hundred men, six hundred were cut to pieces⁽²⁰⁾.

XI. The enemy in a short time resumed their guns, and recommenced their fire upon the line; while a smart, but irregular fire of musketry from their infantry, who now approached the line in various directions, was kept up, and became extremely galling; particularly as it was justly deemed hazardous to detach any more troops from the main body, as the cavalry, from their late success, appeared to be fully resolved to attack the

line, who at this time, became once more exposed to the heavy and severe fire of the enemy's battery, which appeared to be fully as well served as our own artillery. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry having, at this period, collected on our right flank, charged with the most determined bravery, and a large part of our little army was obliged to change its position, and to show a front on this occasion. This body was again repulsed, although several of the chiefs were actually killed in the act of cutting down the soldiers in their ranks.

The action had now continued from daylight until ten, and the loss of the army, in the various charges and from the enemy's guns, did not amount to less than fifteen hundred men, while that of the enemy exceeded five thousand. It was at this period suggested to Colonel Baillie that, as the army was only seven miles from Sir Hector Monro, he might reasonably expect that he would come to his assistance, and that, instead of remaining in the open plain, exposed to the severe fire of the enemy's guns and repeated charges of the horse—with the annoying fire of their irregular infantry, it would be most advisable to make a fresh attack with the whole army on the battery, and, as the ground was favourable for defence, it would be an excellent post for the army until the arrival of Sir Hector Monro.

It appeared, however, that Baillie was so confident of immediate relief, that he determined to remain in the plain ; but, in order to shelter the army from the severity of the enemy's fire, he formed his infantry under the cover

of an old ravine, (21) while a heavy cannonade was kept up from the artillery of both [armies], which ended in the enemy abandoning their guns,—but the cavalry remained on the flanks, ready to attack any detachment that might be sent to take possession of them.

The rear-guard, during the attacks of the line, having taken up a position of great strength, although entirely separated from the main body, had repulsed every attack that had been made.

XII. At this period, a cloud of dust in our front convinced us that the long looked for aid of Monro was at length approaching, and from a village in our front we observed several columns of infantry, clothed in scarlet, advancing rapidly, beating the British grenadiers' march.

A shout of joy was spread throughout the line, but a moment afterwards a very different sensation pervaded the breast of every one, on discovering that it was the advance of Hyder's army. It afterwards appeared that Hyder, having received information from Tippoo of the position of Baillie, [had] left his camp standing, guarded by . . . thousand polygars and irregulars, and, with the whole of his choice infantry, horse, and artillery, marched out from the rear of his camp, and, by taking a considerable circuit, eluded the vigilance of the British general, who did not discover his error until *four hours* after Hyder marched to the assistance of his son.

In a very few minutes the plain was covered with this formidable army, which, from the information afterwards obtained from some French officers of intelligence in the

enemy's army, consisted of twenty-five battalions of sepoys, seventy-five pieces of cannon, twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides innumerable bodies of polygars, peons, and rocket-men.

XIII. A fresh body of artillery-men immediately resumed their fire from Tippoo's battery, and the bulk of Hyder's army surrounded Colonel Baillie's small body of troops, while the field train of the line kept up a severe and brisk fire on the enemy, which, from their numbers, did infinite execution. The rear-guard at this period remained quite unnoticed by the enemy, and, from their position, ignorant of the fresh body of the enemy that had attacked the line. Had their position been known to me, I am of opinion that, by marching to the adjoining wood, which was of a great thickness and extended for twenty miles to the sea-coast, the greater part would have escaped.

The fire of the enemy at this period became so overpowering and heavy, that the greater part of our artillery-men were killed while serving the guns, and an unfortunate shot having struck one of the tumbrils, three of them blew up successively, and many men were killed by the explosion. The enemy now advanced in every direction, and the sepoyes, who had until now manifested the greatest bravery during the whole action, began to shew evident signs of terror, and, as many of the officers at this time had been either killed or wounded, it became no longer practicable to maintain any discipline. The consequence was, that, on the tumbrils exploding,

the whole of the native troops threw down their arms, and took off their uniforms in order to disguise themselves; and many escaped in the tumultuous bands of the enemy by this means (²²).

With our guns now in possession of the enemy—our sepoys utterly dispersed, Colonel Baillie rallied the remains of his army, now reduced to between five and six hundred Europeans, and seeing that all idea of succour was at an end, he resolved to make every exertion to save this handful of men from the fury of the enemy's cavalry, who seemed to be elated with their success, while exasperated at their loss (²³).

For this purpose, although already surrounded, he advanced some distance in front of the soldiers, and affixing a handkerchief on his sword, he demanded quarter for the remains of his army. One of the principal chiefs stepped forward and assured him that, if the troops laid down their arms, their lives (which he swore upon his sword) should be saved.

Baillie instantly ordered the troops to ground their arms, which was scarcely done when the whole of Hyder's cavalry rushed forward, and Colonel Baillie himself, after receiving another wound in the hand, was taken prisoner. The troops, exasperated and driven to despair by this infamous breach of faith, immediately resumed their arms, and a heavy and destructive fire was delivered, which brought down vast numbers of the enemy, while those that escaped the effect of it rushed forward, and commenced the most dreadful slaughter on

this handful of men,—and Hyder issued orders that no quarter should be shewn, which was most implicitly obeyed by his cavalry.

After the destruction of the line, the rear-guard still remained, and were now doomed to experience a similar fate ; but, from the slow manner the enemy approached, it appeared they considered all further resistance at an end. Being totally ignorant of the destruction of the main body, a most determined resistance was made, and a very great loss was sustained by the enemy on this occasion. And this small force had the exclusive honour to think that they were the only troops in the field that did not offer to capitulate, and were the last in the field that were sacrificed.

The fury of the enemy was, if possible, still greater on this occasion. Three-fourths, at least, of the whole were killed on the spot, and those whose lives were spared were most dreadfully wounded⁽²⁴⁾.

XIV. I shall now conclude this general detail of the origin and events of Hyder's war to the period of Baillie's destruction, by observing, that Sir Hector Monro, hearing of the fatal catastrophe of his army on the tenth of September, having got the start of Hyder's victorious army by a few hours, immediately retreated towards Madras ; and he was solely indebted for his safety to the extraordinary vigilance he manifested in his retreat ⁽²⁵⁾.

NOTES.

NOTE 1. PAGE 123.

Received 19th June.—*Mill.*

NOTE 2. PAGE 123.

Colonel Wilks estimates Hyder's force at 90,000,—Mr. Mill, at “not less than 100,000 strong.”—*Hist. of Mysoor*, ii., 254.—*Hist. of British India*, ii., 485.

NOTE 3. PAGES 124 AND 142.

“Hyder had descended through the pass of Changama on the 20th of July, and from thence detached a select corps of *five thousand* horse, under his second son, Kurreem Saib,” &c.—*Wilks*, ii., 266.

NOTE 4. PAGES 126 AND 144.

It amounted to 1500 Europeans, 4200 sepoys, with an artillery of 42 field-pieces, five cohorns, and four battering cannon.—*Memoirs of the late War in Asia, &c.*

NOTE 5. PAGES 126 AND 144.

—“No local experience was necessary to demonstrate that the order which Lord MacLeod received to assemble the army at Conjeveram, an open town forty miles in advance, through a country every-where occupied by the enemy, was contrary to the ordinary suggestions of military prudence, as risking, without an adequate object, the safety of all

its detachments and equipments ; and in a judicious letter, almost prophetic of the fate of Baillie, this officer recommended the vicinity of Madras as the only safe point of junction, until the army should be in sufficient force, by the union of its detachments, to meet the enemy in the field. The commander-in-chief was of a different opinion ; he pledged himself to form the junction at the place originally proposed, and accordingly assumed the command of the army, a majority in the council being secured by the appointment of an additional member, a measure against which the minority protested as unlawful."—*Wilks*, ii., 266-7.

NOTE 6. PAGE 126.

"The army consisted of the king's 73d regiment, one battalion of the company's European troops, with the grenadiers of another, five battalions of sepoys, a company of marksmen, two troops of cavalry, and a large train of artillery,—amounting, officers included, to 5209.—(184 European infantry, 294 artillery, 3434 sepoys, 32 field-pieces, four heavy cannon, and five mortars.)"—*Mill*, ii., 490.

NOTE 7. PAGE 127.

"Sir H. Munro marched from St. Thomas's Mount with eight days' provision for his own corps only, with the view of raising the siege of Arcot, distant seven ordinary marches. On his arrival at Conjeveram, as the remaining four days' stock for his own corps would furnish little more than two for the army which he expected to unite at that place, he applied to the Mahometan *gentleman* deputed to provide for all his wants by Mahomed Ally, a name for ever associated with recollections of disgust at his own character, and of indignation and contempt for those who could still continue to trust him. This deputed nondescript gravely assured Sir H. Munro 'that he was ordered by Mahomed Ally to attend him, but had no powers given him to procure either provisions or intelligence,' and the general was left on the fourth day of the campaign to live by the contingencies of the day, and continued fixed to the spot, gradually collecting from this large but ruined town a small supply of food, which he deposited within the walls of the Hindoo tem-

ple, a place capable of being rendered in two days defensible against a *coup-de-main*."—*Wilks*.

NOTE 8. PAGE 127.

"On the 25th August, Colonel Baillie arrived on the bank of the river Cortelaur, then nearly dry, but liable to be swollen by the mountain rains, and committed the great military fault of encamping on the northern instead of the southern bank;—the floods descended on the night of the 25th, and prevented his crossing until the 4th" (Mr. Mill says, the 3d) "of September. On the first of that month, perceiving by the usual indications that the river would not soon fall, he proposed, in a letter to the government, to descend to its mouth and be ferried over to Ennore, thirteen miles to the north of Madras, as the most expeditious though the most circuitous route; but to this letter he appears to have received no reply. He crossed the river on the 4th of September, with a corps consisting of 207 Europeans, 2606 sepoyes, 6 six-pounders, and 4 three-pounder guns."—*Wilks*, ii., 268.

NOTE 9. PAGE 127.

"30,000 cavalry, 8000 foot, and 12 pieces of cannon."—*War in Asia*.—*Life of Sir D. Baird*. "A select corps of 5000 infantry, 6000 horse, 12 light and six heavy guns, with a large body of irregulars."—*Wilks*.

NOTE 10. PAGE 129.

"The action is described, in a short note from Colonel Baillie, to have lasted from eleven to two; 'near 100 Europeans and sepoyes were killed and wounded by the guns of the enemy, who never came near enough for musketry.' MS. Journal."—*Wilks*, ii., 269.

NOTE 11. PAGES 129 AND 145.

"During this day, (September 6th,) Hyder, who had occupied an encampment strengthened with redoubts, about six miles to the westward of Sir H. Munro, made a demonstration of turning his right, with the view of covering the operation against Baillie, and this movement

induced a change of position in the English army, which now fronted the north, or the road by which Colonel Baillie was expected. The hostile armies remained during that day drawn up in order of battle opposite to each other, at the distance of about two miles, without an effort on either part. About noon, a heavy firing was heard, which, from a change of wind, soon became inaudible. It was evident that Baillie was attacked, and equally plain that Hyder had interposed his whole army to prevent the junction. Either the detachment was expected to fight its way through the troops allotted for its destruction, and afterwards through the united force of the enemy, or it was necessary to make an effort for its relief. But the pagoda at Conjeveram, which contained the provisions, the heavy guns, and most of the baggage of the army, had not been made capable (in Sir H. Munro's opinion) of maintaining itself for one day. The army lay on its arms without an effort during the 6th, 7th, and 8th."—*Wilks*, ii., 270.

NOTE 12. PAGES 130 AND 146.

The flank companies of the 73d, two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers.—*Mill*. Altogether about 1000 men.—*Life of Sir D. Baird*. 1007 men, the flower of the army.—*Wilks*. 1200 men.—*War in Asia*.

NOTE 13. PAGE 147.

Fifteen miles.—*War in Asia*.—*Mill*.—*Wilks*.

NOTE 14. PAGES 132 AND 147.

—"Contrary to all reasonable calculation, Colonel Fletcher, by changing his route during the march, and thus deceiving his own guides, who were all in Hyder's pay, passed unperceived by the numerous troops interposed, and joined Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum early in the morning of the 9th."—*Wilks*, ii., 271.

NOTE 15. PAGE 132.

"The arrival of this reinforcement increased the strength to 3720

men, allowing a deduction of 100 for the casualties of the 6th.—[This number is taken from Sir H. Monro's official statement, and of course from the last returns.]”—A MS. journal quoted by Colonel Wilks makes the strength about 3500.—*Hist. Mysoor*, ii., 271.

NOTE 16. PAGE 132.

“Hyder was full of indignation at the strange negligence by which the detachment had been permitted to pass, without observation, across a country covered with his light troops. The French officers in his service deemed it to be a profound and skilful manœuvre, by which Hyder's army was to be entangled between two powerful bodies by a joint operation on the night of the 9th, and strongly urged him to move from the dangerous position which he occupied. Hyder, forming a more correct estimate of the actual operation, maintained his ground, but yielded so far to the suggestions of his advisers, as to make dispositions, and even prepare the roads for each column to retire to the westward, in the event of their conjectures being verified. Both armies continued immovable on the 9th, and, towards the close of the day, Hyder, having ascertained from his spies that the English army were not preparing to march, sent off immediately after dark, in the direction of Baillie, the great body of his infantry and guns, remaining himself on the ground, ready to move at a moment's warning, with a few light guns and the whole of the cavalry, if his camp should be attacked, and with the same means to harass and impede the march, if a movement should be made in the direction of Baillie. At four o'clock, finding the same torpor still to prevail in the English camp, he silently followed his infantry.”—*Wilks*, ii., 271—2.

NOTE 17. PAGE 133.

“Of banyan trees, with a jungle on each side.”—*Life of Sir D. Baird*.

NOTE 18. PAGE 134.

“About ten o'clock, three guns were fired by the rear-guard, which induced Colonel Baillie to believe that they were attacked. He there-

fore ordered the line to turn to the right about, and to form in the rear, with their front towards Perambaukum. The enemy kept up an incessant fire, though with little effect; and, as they did not discover an inclination to advance, the English commander gave orders for the troops to face to the right, and to march into the avenue through which they had passed a few minutes before. The whole line being now formed in this avenue, a general halt took place; and Captain Rumley, with five companies of sepoy grenadiers, was detached to storm two guns that had now opened with great execution on our left. There is not a doubt but this party would have accomplished the service on which they were sent, had not a water-course, which happened at that time to be unfordable, obliged them to return to the line. A degree of disorder, arising from this and the other movements just mentioned, was perhaps the reason why Colonel Baillie came to the unfortunate resolution of halting all night."—*War in Asia, &c.*, p. 7—8.

This first, unsuccessful attempt of Captain Rumley is, it will be observed, unnoticed by Mr. John Lindsay.

"The intelligence, however, of Captain Rumley's march, which was immediately communicated to the enemy, threw their camp into alarm; their guns were heard drawing off towards the English front, and their noise and irregular firing resembled those of an army under a sudden and dangerous attack. A strong conviction of the necessity of preserving every portion of the little army with which the mighty host of the enemy was to be withheld, suggested, in all probability, both to Colonel Baillie and to the general, a caution which otherwise they would not have observed. For what other reason Colonel Baillie forbore to try the effect of an attack during the apparent confusion of the enemy; or for what reason, unless a hope of being supported by the general with an attack on the opposite side, he did not, when the firing ceased, endeavour to proceed, but remained in his position till morning, it is not easy to divine."—*Mill*, ii., 492—3.

NOTE 19. PAGES 135 AND 148.

"Colonel Baillie's words, explanatory of his decision, addressed to Captain Baird, were—'that he was determined to halt till daylight,

that he might have an opportunity of seeing about him.'”—*Life of Sir D. Baird*, i., p. 21.

NOTE 20. PAGES 137 AND 151.

The above accounts differ from that given by the author of “Memoirs of the late War in Asia :”—“The guns were abandoned by the enemy while our sepoys were yet at the distance of two hundred yards. But as our little detachment were advancing to seize and spike them, a sudden cry among the sepoys of ‘horse! horse!’ threw them into confusion, and they retreated with precipitation. It was the main body of Hyder,” &c.—p. 8.

NOTE 21. PAGES 137 AND 153.

“At this juncture, Baillie formed his force, consisting of little more than 3000 men, in line, upon the bank of an old *nullah*, or water-course, and opened his guns upon the enemy.”—*Life of Sir D. Baird*.

NOTE 22. PAGES 139 AND 155.

After the explosion of the tumbrils . . . “the cannonade had by this time done considerable execution, the enemy’s guns drawing nearer and nearer till almost every shot told. The pressure on the rear appeared to be most serious, and Colonel Fletcher caused a company of European grenadiers to move to its support. The whole of the troops had been previously ordered to lie down in their ranks, and as the grenadiers rose to obey the order, the sepoys rose also, and crowded to the rear.

“In Hyder’s stable-horse was an officer named Biccajee Sindia, commanding a *dusta*, (or 1000 cavalry,) who had been placed in command of a large division of troops to the northward of the English army under Sir H. Munro, to watch its movements, on the night on which Colonel Fletcher had marched without molestation to join Baillie,—and Hyder had personally and publicly reprobated this misconduct with his usual coarseness and contumely. Biccajee Sindia, stung by this public disgrace, resolved to wipe off the opprobrium or die in the attempt. On observing the crowding of the sepoys, which has been stated, without waiting for orders, he made a desperate charge at the head of his *dusta*.

Himself, fifteen of his family, and a large portion of his corps fell; but the example, supposed to be the result of an order, was instantly followed by the rest of the cavalry. The European companies of the British corps still preserved their order, but the residue of the sepoyes, not destroyed in the charge, became mixed in irretrievable confusion with the carts and other baggage, and either stripped for flight, or kept up a straggling fire without an object, the strange but ordinary effect of panic.* Colonel Baillie," &c.—*Wilks*, ii., 276—7.

NOTE 23. PAGES 139 AND 155.

. . . “ Nothing ever exceeded the steadiness and determination with which this handful of men sustained the fury of their enemies. No effort could break their order,—while sepoyes, as well as Europeans, repeatedly presented and recovered arms, with as much coolness and regularity as if they had been exhibiting on a parade. Every attack of the enemy was repulsed with vast slaughter. Their courage began to abate, and even Hyder himself was perplexed. A movement executed by Colonel

* Though many of the sepoyes escaped by flight, many also fell into Hyder's hands, and were confined, like the British prisoners, at Seringapatam. “ They were kept,” says Colonel Wilks, “ at hard labour, and these faithful creatures, whenever they had an opportunity, sacrificed a portion of their own scanty pittance to mend the fare of their European fellow-soldiers. A more cruel treatment was considered due, and was unfeelingly inflicted on those native officers who could league with strangers against their countrymen, and among them many sustained the severest trials with a fortitude which has never been surpassed in the history of any country. By an inexplicable caprice, the most respectable of these were, for a considerable time, confined at Seringapatam, in the same prison with the European officers; and the *good commandant*, *Seyed Ibrahim*, the theme of their prison songs, and the object of their veneration, continued, till removed for further torture, to animate the despondent, to restrain the rash, and to give an example to all of cheerful resignation and ardent attachment. When removed from the prison, he mildly bespoke attention to his family, if his fellow-prisoners should ever return, and some years elapsed after their release before accumulated sufferings brought him to the grave. On the extinction of the dynasty of Hyder, a mausoleum was erected over his remains, and endowed by Lord Clive, on behalf of the East India Company, with a view to perpetuate the remembrance of his virtues, and the benefit of his example.”—*Wilks*, ii., 523-4.

Baillie to the right, apparently with a view to attack the enemy's guns, increased the terrors of Hyder, and he consulted Lally on the propriety of a retreat; Lally replied, that as the main army of the English was probably advancing upon his rear, no expedient remained but to break through the detachment. When the heroic bravery of this little band presented so fair a prospect of baffling the host of their assailants, two of their tumbrils blew up, which not only made a large opening in both lines, but at once deprived them of ammunition, and overturned and disabled their guns. Their fire was now in a great measure silenced, and their lines were no longer entire, yet so prodigious was the awe which they inspired, that the enemy durst not immediately close. From half after seven, when the tumbrils blew up, they remained exposed to the fire of the cannon and rockets, losing great numbers of officers and men, till nine o'clock, when Hyder, with his whole army, came round the right flank. The cavalry charged in separate columns, while bodies of infantry, interspersed between them, poured in volleys of musketry with dreadful effect. After the sepoyes were almost all destroyed, Colonel Baillie, though severely wounded, rallied the Europeans who survived. Forming a square, and gaining a little eminence, without ammunition, and almost all wounded, the officers fighting with their swords, and the men with their bayonets, they resisted and repelled thirteen attacks, many of the men, when desperately wounded, disdaining to receive quarter, and raising themselves from the ground to receive the enemy on their bayonets. Though not more than four hundred men, they still desired to be led on, and to cut their way through the enemy. But Baillie, despairing now of being relieved by Munro," &c.—*Mill*, ii., 494.

NOTE 24. PAGES 140 AND 156.

"Seven-eighths of the whole were put to the sword, and but for the humane interposition of the French commanders, Lally and Pimorin, who implored and insisted with the conqueror to show mercy, the gallant remains of our little army must have fallen a sacrifice."—*Memoirs of the late war in Asia*, p. 10.

" ' Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed or died of their

wounds, thirty-four were wounded and taken, and sixteen were taken not wounded; the carnage among the soldiers being nearly in the same proportion.'”—*MS. Journal, quoted by Wilks*, ii., 277.

“About two hundred Europeans were taken prisoners.”—*Mill*.

NOTE 25. PAGES 140 AND 156.

On the night of the 9th, (“in the evening” of which Baillie was “instructed to move” with the detachment under Fletcher, which had joined him that morning,) “the tents of the main army were struck, and the men lay on their arms. About twelve o’clock, some cannon and musketry were heard; but they presently ceased and all was still. A little before day-break a heavy firing of cannon and musketry was heard at a distance. It was soon perceived that the enemy’s army had moved; the general gave orders to march by the right in the direction of the firing. After proceeding about four miles, he ordered guns to be fired, as a signal of his approach; and, after a mile and a half, repeated the signal. A great smoke was suddenly perceived, and the firing ceased. Supposing that Baillie had repulsed the enemy, the general led the army back into the road, in hopes to meet him. After marching about two miles, he met a wounded sepoy, who had escaped from the fight, and told him that Colonel Baillie was entirely defeated. The general concluded that the safety of the army depended upon its returning to Conjeveram, where it arrived about six in the evening, and where the arrival of more wounded sepoys confirmed the report of the disaster.”—*Mill*, ii., 491.

—“Hyder,” (after cutting Baillie’s army to pieces,) “withdrew to Damul, a place about six miles from the scene of action, and the next day returned to his camp, where he had left the tents standing and baggage unmoved when he marched to the attack of the unfortunate Baillie. He had acted, during the whole of these operations, under the greatest apprehension of the march of Munro upon his rear. And had not that general been deterred, through his total want of intelligence, and his deficiency in the means of subsistence, from marching to the support of Baillie,—had he fallen upon the rear of the enemy, while the detachment was maintaining its heroic resistance in front, it

is probable that the army of Hyder would have sustained a total defeat. On returning to Conjeveram, after intelligence of the fate of the detachment, the general found that the provisions, which he had been unwilling to expose, amounted to barely one day's rice for the troops. Concluding that he should be immediately surrounded by Hyder's cavalry, and cut off from all means of providing any further supply, he began, at three o'clock the next morning, to retreat to Chingleput, after throwing into a tank the heavy guns and stores which he could not remove. Hyder, informed of all the motions of the English army, sent a body of not less than six thousand horse, who harassed continually their flanks and rear, wounded some of the men, and cut off several vehicles of baggage. Through several difficulties, they reached, about eleven at night, a river, within a mile and a half of Chingleput, so deep, that the rear of the army passed only at nine o'clock on the following morning. At this place, the general expected to find a stock of provisions, but, with all his endeavours, could hardly procure paddy [rice] for a day. Fortunately for Colonel Cosby, as he was about to make a forced march to Conjeveram, he met with one of the fugitive sepoys from Colonel Baillie's camp, upon whose intelligence he proceeded to Chingleput, and though considerably harassed by the enemy on his march, joined the army in safety on the morning of the 12th. Leaving the sick, and part of the baggage, at Chingleput, the whole army, at six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, began their march for the Mount, at which they arrived on the afternoon of the following day. Nothing could exceed the consternation and alarm of the Presidency, which now trembled even for Madras; and, destitute as it was, not only of provisions, but supplies of every kind, if Hyder had followed the English with his usual impetuosity, and with his whole army assailed the place, it is hard to tell how nearly, if not completely, he might have involved the Carnatic interests of the nation in ruin."—*Ibid*, ii., 495-6.

JOURNAL
OF
AN IMPRISONMENT IN SERINGAPATAM,

DURING THE YEARS 1781, 1782, 1783,
AND PART OF 1780 AND 1784.

BY
THE HON. JOHN LINDSAY.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T,

BY THE EDITOR.

A DISCREPANCY in dates—the consequence probably of the restraint under which such records of daily misery were necessarily kept—may occasionally be observed between the following “Journal” and the similar one of a brother sufferer, published above half a century ago, and frequently cited in the notes appended by me to my uncle’s narrative. I have pointed out the most material of these variations, but, except in two instances, hereafter accounted for, I have in no wise altered the arrangement of the work.

Nor have I suppressed the slightest incident in the accumulation of mental and physical suffering that weighed down for nearly four weary years the wretched victims of Hyder Ali. Deep moral lessons are unconsciously conveyed in every page of this Journal—the eye may be moistened, the heart saddened, but I am sure the reader will rise up a wiser and a better man from its perusal.

JOURNAL, &c.

CHAPTER I.

THIS journal is an account of myself, and of the various circumstances that befel me, from the time that I was taken prisoner by Hyder Ali on the tenth of September, 1780, until my release from prison, and my arrival at Madras on the 17th April, 1784.

On the morning of the tenth of September, little did I expect that the events of that day would have been productive of the miserable years that followed it, or that I was doomed to suffer such hardships in consequence of having done, and doing, my duty to my country to the best of my ability, as the worst of malefactors only experience for their crimes.

After my company had delivered their fire amongst the multitude of the enemy that were around us, the horse immediately rushed in, and, the ranks being now

irretrievably broken, every one threw down his arms, and used every means to preserve his life ; whilst, all around us, no object presented itself but the enemy, with drawn sabres, cutting and hacking the miserable wretches that were at their mercy.

As my company was (from their being lately sent to the assistance of the rear-guard) the last body of troops that were in the field, they were nearly all cut to pieces ; the greatest part of the soldiers and officers of the line came running down towards me, and the enemy's horse galloping after them ; they were driven to a hollow piece of ground, which had been the means of sheltering my company pretty well during the action ; there were therefore five or six hundred people in this place, crowded together, which the horse surrounded, who, by the length of their weapons, could plunge them into the middle of the crowd.

Our situation was now become beyond all description dreadful, from the screams of the wounded and dying people on the side of the hollow, and from the vast numbers that were smothered in the middle of it, owing to the extraordinary pressure.

In this situation, I was so unfortunate as to be near the centre, and in a few minutes I should have suffered the same fate as a number of others, if at that time I had not called out to two men of my company who were near the edge, and though they were both desperately wounded, yet by great exertions they dragged me out of the dreadful pressure.

Then, reflecting that the superior appearance of my dress might be fatal to me, I recollect that I had in my pocket two hundred pagodas, being the subsistence of my troop, and which, it immediately struck me, would be the means of preserving my life.

I therefore looked around me to observe the different countenances of the horsemen, and thinking that I had distinguished one whose look was less ferocious than the rest, I pulled out my bag of pagodas, and beckoned him to approach me, which he instantly did, put up his sword, and dismounted. I immediately delivered him the bag; he seemed much surprised and pleased at the magnitude of its contents, which gave me the most sanguine expectations. After he had put it up, he demanded my accoutrements, which I instantly took off and presented to him; I now thought he would have gone no farther, but (one after the other) he stripped me of every thing except my breeches and one-half of my shirt,—having torn off the other to tie up my other shirts in a bundle. Though much concerned at being thus stripped naked after the part I had acted towards him, I however made no doubt but that he would grant me his protection, especially when I saw him mount his horse; which he, however, had no sooner done, than he drew his sabre, and, after giving me two or three wounds, instantly rode off, leaving me stung with rage, and laying the blame upon myself for having called him towards me. After some minutes, what with the loss of blood and the intense heat of the sun, I fainted away, fully convinced

that I was expiring, and pleased to think my last moments were so gentle.

I do not know how long I remained in this situation, but I was roused from it by a dreadful pain in my left shoulder-blade. I now found that I was nearly driven into the centre again, and that a dead man was lying upon me, and a pike that had passed through his body had penetrated into my shoulder, and caused me the severe pain.

In this manner I lay for some minutes, when John Kelman, of my company, called out, upon observing me, that I was dead ; upon which I answered, "Not yet, but near about it." At this moment he observed three French hussars, and desired me to go to them ; I answered him that I was so weak I could not walk, and, besides that, I was so jammed in the crowd that I could not move myself ; upon which, being a very strong man, he reached out his hand towards me, and, my head being the only part he could touch, he dragged me out by the hair, and carried me to the French, when I once more fainted ; however, one of them put some arrack into my mouth, which soon revived me, and I told them in French I was an officer, and requested that they would protect me, which they assured me in the strongest manner they would do. They accordingly drew their swords to keep off the horse, who were every moment endeavouring to cut me down. At this time my preserver, John Kelman, was by some accident separated from me, and I afterwards found he was cut to pieces.

The hussars now carried me to their commander, Lally, who was at some distance with his corps. He immediately came up to me, and expressed his concern at my situation, ordered my wounds to be bound up, and placed me upon one of his elephants, and they told me that, as Hyder every moment expected General Monro to arrive on the field of battle, he was going to fall back to his old camp.

Though extremely feeble, I could not help considering myself exceedingly fortunate at having got into such humane hands, and the thought of the treatment I might afterwards undergo was entirely absorbed in thankfulness at the danger I had escaped. From the top of the elephant, the first thing that I cast my eyes upon, was six wounded men of my company, with ropes about their necks, and beat on in the most inhuman manner by a Moorman* who was leading them.

* The epithets *Moor* or *Moorman*, and *Gentoo* or *Gentile*—adopted, I believe, from the Portuguese, and respectively applied to the Mahometans and the native Hindoos of India by all the old English travellers—have only fallen into disuse within the last half-century, since (and probably in consequence of) their rejection by Sir William Jones. In the present instance, no doubt, the change has been an improvement, but I cannot suppress a sigh in reflecting on the license which has followed another much more important innovation to which that accomplished man lent his authority—I mean, that of altering the orthography of Oriental names *already naturalised and dear to us in our own mother English*—names which surely might be left in quiet enjoyment of the prescription to which the acquiescence of many generations, and the sanction of some of our noblest British classics, fairly entitle them.—If

I at this moment had a distinct view of Hyder's army, his infantry, marching in the most regular manner to English music, in the centre, and his cavalry on the flanks. Hyder Ali himself was riding at the head of one of his battalions, upon a small dun horse, and dressed in a blue silk jacket, and a red turban. He came riding up to Lally, with whom he conversed in the most familiar manner, and appeared vastly pleased, bursting out into fits of laughter. In this manner I arrived in the camp, after a march of ten miles, and was extremely weak and

the orthography of Tamerlane, Saladin, and Cairo satisfied the historical judgment of Gibbon, (and few, I suppose, would even now advise the alteration of those names, in a new edition of the "Decline and Fall," into Timoor-Leng, Salah-ed-deen, and El Kahira,) still less reason can there be for applying the principle to fiction, or for disfiguring the familiar friends of our childhood, Haroun Al-raschid, Zobeide, the Vizier Giaffar, Mesrour, and Aladdin, in the uncouth, repulsive orthographical garb which disfigures more than one recent edition of the Arabian Nights, in other respects most valuable.—And, what is more provoking still, no two innovators in this new field pursue the same system.

Let it be considered to what the principle, if carried out to its full extent—(for, if imperative in the one hemisphere, it can be no less so in the other,) will necessarily lead us. Adopting the most rational of the prevailing theories, that of spelling names according to their national orthography, we must henceforward write Roma for Rome, Venezia for Venice, Wien for Vienna, Muskwa for Moscow, Kiobenhavn for Copenhagen; the Danube must be lost in the Danau, the Vis-tula in the Weichsel,—and even the laws of rhyme and rhythm will scarcely, I fear, protect the Montagues and Capulets from the fate of the (twice-murdered) Barmecides.

fatigued ; but Leroy, one of the French hussars who had saved me from being cut down by Hyder's horse, gave me some soup and a shirt and long drawers, which I had great want of, as my skin was in one entire blister with the scorching heat of the sun.

As this was now the sixth night I had passed without sleep, notwithstanding the great pain I was in, I did not awake until morning, when I found that four officers, severely wounded, had been brought in during the night, and in the morning I found two of them lying dead by my side.

On the 11th, in the morning, some of the French officers came and told me that Hyder had sent them orders to deliver up to him all their prisoners. They expressed their grief at it, but declared that Hyder would inflict con[dign ?] punishment upon them if they did not instantly comply.

At this instant the guards came in, and, in a thundering manner, drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, and loading us with blows because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner, we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy. This speech gave us all great comfort, and we were now taken out of his presence. When I came out, a figure, covered all over with blood, came limping up to me and called me by my name, which from the voice I soon discovered

was my old friend, David Baird ; this was a most welcome meeting to both of us.

His fortune had not been quite so good as mine, for he had been, like me, stripped—worse wounded—and had lain all the day and the following night, on the field of battle, every horseman thinking him so badly wounded that they would not be at the trouble of conducting him into the camp ; he had, however, made a shift to come in of himself, and now declared that the only pain he felt at that time was violent hunger.* I informed him of Hyder's speech to us, which much pleased him.

I then perceived some men of my company at a distance, and, forgetting that I was a prisoner, I went towards them, being desirous of speaking with them, but I had not gone more than two or three steps before the guard saw me, and a shower of blows which I received all over me, soon made me recollect that I was not my own master.

We were now conducted to a tent, where about twenty wounded officers had been brought before us, and presented a sight that would have struck any other enemy with pity, except the one whose hands we had fallen into ; few of them had less than six wounds ; every moment they were bringing in more from the field of battle, but great numbers, both of officers and

* See the "Life of General Sir David Baird, Bart.," vol 1, pp. 28—33.

soldiers, being stripped and severely wounded, were left to perish on the scene of action.

Towards the evening, Colonel Baillie and fifty-eight officers were collected together at this tent, and some infamous provisions were flung upon a large cloth upon the ground, and we were desired to eat that or want. Two French surgeons were then permitted to come and dress our wounds, who, as soon as they saw our numbers, declared that it was impossible for them to dress so many without some assistance ; accordingly, after tying up the wounds of about twenty of the worst, they went away, and said that they would apply to Hyder for more assistance.

On the 12th, in the morning, it was discovered that three officers had died during the night, and vast numbers were delirious. Colonel Baillie, who was badly wounded himself, now requested that they would send for the surgeons and some provisions, but all the answer he received was, that the army was just going to march twelve miles nearer Arcot, and that, when ye came to the ground, we should obtain everything we wanted.

A few minutes afterwards, the grand Nagar beat, (which is a great drum mounted upon a camel,) as a signal for the army to begin their march. A strong guard came and informed us that there were conveyances for twenty of the worst of us, but that all the rest were to walk. It was in vain for us to attempt to reason with them, that we were unable to walk ; abuse and blows were all we gained by it. Numbers at length

threw themselves upon the ground, and declared that they could not move a step further, and, by every kind of abuse, endeavoured to provoke the guard to put them to death.

In this manner we arrived at the new encampment late in the evening, and it was found that four more officers had died upon the road. Three tents were now pitched upon a low sandy ground, barely sufficient to contain thirty of our number ; but the guard declared that Hyder would grant us no more. In the evening we had some of the same kind of provisions as the day before spread out before us, and on the morning of the 13th, the stench of our wounds infected the air around us.

Hyder, for the first time, enquired after his prisoners, and being informed of our dreadful situation, at the earnest entreaty of the French officers, he permitted some of them to come and give us assistance. He now sent us some surgeons, but not sufficient, and likewise ordered every officer a piece of cloth to cover himself, and Colonel Baillie one thousand rupees to distribute as he thought proper, and which, being divided among both officers and soldiers, gave every one five.

The French officers, who were all very badly off for money and clothes themselves, subscribed however together four hundred pagodas, which they gave to Colonel Baillie upon his bond, and which was a most providential supply, and enabled us to buy what things were absolutely necessary for our existence ; but, still, our evils

were now becoming hourly more insupportable,—the wounds of every one were full of dirt and sand, as we had nothing to rest our bodies upon but the bare ground, and the market-people, who were permitted to come and sell things to us, at a most exorbitant price, found the air so offensive that they would come no longer. Several died in this miserable state, and a very few days would have been fatal to us all, if Hyder had not resolved to send away his prisoners to his own country.

On the morning of the 16th,* the guards came and informed Baillie, that all the prisoners were to be sent away except himself and officers next in rank to him. Of these, Colonel Baillie kept myself and my friend Baird, and, as a very great indulgence, we were permitted to go and see the men of our companies to bid them farewell. They had been still worse treated, if possible, than ourselves, and, thinking that we might have sufficient influence to get their situation altered for the better, they determined, when an opportunity offered, to complain to us. But when they saw that we

* *The fourteenth.* (Narrative, &c., by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment, printed in "Memoirs of the war in Asia, from 1780 to 1784. 8vo, 1789." p. 22.)—According to this account, "Colonel Baillie, the Captains Baird, Rumley, Lucas, Menteith and Wragg, with Lieutenants Lindsay and Frazer, were ordered to remain in the enemy's camp. The officers not wounded, who amounted to the number of twenty-three, were sent to Bangalore; and those wounded, of whom there were twenty-seven, to Arnee. The wounded privates were in like manner sent to Arnee, and those not wounded to Bangalore."

were in as deplorable a situation as themselves, they burst into tears, and only hoped that the day would come, that would give them ample revenge for our sufferings. After having been with them a few minutes, and advising them to keep up their spirits and look for better days, we were obliged to leave them, and were separated from the rest of our brother officers, and carried to another part of the camp.

My wounds had not yet been dressed since I received them, as the surgeons had always been occupied with those that were worse wounded than myself, but the change of provisions and extraordinary heat of the sun, and the complicated hardships that I had undergone, threw me into a violent fever. We were now put into a tent, the first shelter I had been under since I was taken. I thought myself particularly fortunate, at this time, in meeting one of my old servants, who likewise, on his part, expressed his joy ; and told me he had not tasted victuals for two days. As I was extremely ill, I gave him all my treasure, amounting to fifteen rupees, to take care of for me, and desired him to go to the bazar, and buy something for himself and me. He promised to return immediately, but the treacherous villain, as soon as he had got my all, left me, and I never saw him afterwards. Baird, likewise, had been plundered of his wealth in much the same manner, but Baillie was so generous as to give us, out of what little he had remaining, a pagoda each.

On the morning of the 18th, we were informed that

Hyder was going to besiege Arcot, and that he meant to carry us along with him ; and, not many minutes afterwards, eight palanquins were brought to us for our conveyance. This behaviour, so different from the former, surprised us extremely, and we were given to understand that our situation would now be in every respect altered for the better ; but we soon found out that this outward magnificence was a political trick of Hyder's, for, while we marched along with his army in this manner, escorted by a large body of horse, our pittance of provisions was so small, and so bad of its kind, that it was barely sufficient for our existence.

On the 19th, on the line of march, my old house-keeper, Mootoo, came up to me, and appeared to be extremely concerned at seeing me so very ill, and said that he was determined to stay with me,—at which I was very happy, but took care to keep my remaining pagoda in my own possession.

On the 20th, Hyder's army came in sight of Arcot, which began to fire at his advanced parties, and shot from the fort wounded one of our guard ; upon which, the principal body of the army moved off, and took possession of Walajanagar, a town near two miles distant from Arcot, and our guard conducted us there likewise. An old tent was pitched in one of the streets, and we were put into it, but we found it so extremely hot, that we beseeched them to put us into one of the houses on either side, which, however, they refused to do. We were now surrounded on all sides by strong guards, and a pro-

clamation was sent round, that any stranger, who should be seen near our guards, would have his nose and ears cut off.

As Kistnarow, the Behauder's* prime minister, used frequently to come and see us, we determined to pay our court by every kind of submission ; he was continually asking us questions about the strength of the English army and the customs of our country, all of which we answered with a servility of manner which the misery of our situation alone could excuse.

Finding now that there was no chance of any more surgeons being allowed to come near us, we were obliged to trust to nature for our cure. The violent fever that I had had now for a long time, turned into a severe flux, and I found that, from having no method of cleaning myself, and the want of clothes, I was covered with vermin, and, as my circumstances would not admit of my purchasing a comb, my servant Mootoo shaved my head with a piece of glass bottle.

As the health of us all was still very indifferent, we came to a resolution of requesting that they would permit us to write into Vellore, which was sixteen miles distant, for a surgeon. Colonel Baillie made this applica-

* The title of Behauder, implying Hero, was granted to Hyder by the puppet Rajah of Mysore, in 1759,—the period when his fortunes were beginning to unfold. He “was always more gratified by the single appellation of Behauder than by any other title.” See Colonel Wilks's Hist., &c., i., 372.

tion to Kistnarow, who asked if we were sure that a surgeon would come out to us upon such a request? and, upon his being answered in the affirmative, he said, "If you can have interest enough to procure a surgeon, the same power will enable you to desire the commanding officer to deliver up the fort to my master, and I desire that you will accordingly write to that purpose," and, upon our refusing to comply with this demand, he said, "that we could not expect that any favour would be granted us."

On the 27th, Hyder sent for us to his *durbar*,* and Captain Rumley, who spoke the Moorish and Persian languages extremely well, had a long conversation with Hyder, and told him the severe treatment we had met with. He seemed to be very sorry for it, and, after we had been some time with him, he desired us, as he did on a former occasion, to "go home, and to eat, drink, sleep and be happy"—and Kistnarow, who was displeased with what we had said to Hyder, ordered that we should get no victuals that day.

On the 28th, they, to our great joy, brought into our tent eight baskets of liquor, with a letter from a French correspondent of Baillie's in Pondicherry, desiring that he would sign a receipt for the liquor, that he might know if we got it; therefore, upon pen and ink being brought, Baillie signed the receipt. Some time after, Kistnarow came and asked, "if we liked wine?" and

* Court.

upon our answering that we did, he ordered the guard to take the baskets away, saying that he would take care of it for us, but we never saw the wine afterwards.

This behaviour, joined with our former treatment, made us almost desperate, and we determined to treat him ever afterwards with the most pointed contempt. Accordingly, the next time he came, instead of getting up and saluting him in the servile manner we had hitherto done, we sat still upon the ground, without taking the least notice of him. He therefore soon went away, seemingly much displeased; we amused ourselves with the idea of treating him with the most mortifying contempt, and some days elapsed before we saw any thing more of him.

On the 22d of October, a fresh guard came, and desired Baird, myself, and two others,* to prepare immediately to go to Seringapatam. I represented to them my weak situation to undertake so long a journey, but we had just time to bid adieu to Baillie and the rest, when we were shoved out of the tent, and, on the outside, I met Kistnarow, and again repeated to him the impossibility of my performing the journey; but he flew into a violent passion, shook a cane over my head, and said, "better people than us were kept all their lives in iron cages."

We were now delivered over to a guard of matchlock peons, who received strict orders to keep a good look-

† Captains Menteith and Wragg.

out that we did not run away. The palanquins that we formerly had, were brought again to us, but without any carpet or bedding, which made them a most painful conveyance. In the evening we halted at Timery, a small fort, ten miles distant from Arcot, where my complaints soon began to be much worse, being without the smallest assistance.

On the 23d, we continued our march, and arrived at Arnee in the evening. At this place all the worst of the wounded prisoners of Baillie's army were kept, and we strongly begged of the Kellidar* to allow us to go and see them, which favour we could not obtain. My disorder had now become so violent, and had rendered me so feeble, that I could not stand, and my own money, as well as Baird's, had long been expended, so that, being unable to purchase any medicines, and the provisions which they served out to us being extremely bad for my disorder, I had in consequence not tasted any thing since I left Arcot.

On the 24th, we arrived at Polore, which is a fort, after a severe march of twenty miles, and my complaint now became so violent and painful as almost to deprive me of speech, and the violent fatigue I had undergone, without sustenance, began to affect my senses. The nearer we approached Hyder's country, the less kindness we had shewn us, and the cattle of the village were here driven out of their shelter, and we were substituted in their place.

* Commander of the fort.

The time of the day our guards chose to march contributed likewise greatly to our miseries, for they never started until the sun had risen, and the heat of it, from being without any refreshment, was truly insupportable.

On the 27th, we arrived, after a very long march, at Shangernagore,* a fort near the pass of the Carnatic into the Mysore country ; and the bullocks, as usual, were driven out to make way for us. This last march completely overpowered me, and violent spasms and a strong hiccough seized me. It was evident that I was now in the last stage of my disorder, and Baird and the rest of my companions did all in their power to force me to take a little rice to sustain me, but without effect.

At this time, a sepoy of our guard came up to me, and, after standing by me for some minutes, told me that he would prepare me some medicine if I would take it. I told him that I would thankfully take any thing that he would give me, but that I had no money to pay him for it. He said that he did not want any money from a prisoner, and then went away. In a few minutes he came back, and brought with him three green pomegranates and a large bowl of sour milk, and after mixing the fruit with his hands in the milk, having previously mashed them into a ball upon a stone, he desired me to drink it. In any other situation I would certainly have refused to take such a medicine, but, as it was, I took it

* Chandgherry,—the capital of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Narsinga.

and with great loathing drank it off, it having a most dreadful taste. He then desired me to endeavour to sleep, which I did, and in a few hours afterwards I awaked much better, my fever having abated, and my flux was not near so severe ; and, for the first time since I left Arcot, I eat a little boiled rice.

The next morning, the sepoy came to see me, and was much rejoiced at seeing me so much better. I told him that I owed him my life, and that, although I was poor here, I had plenty of money in my own country, and that I would reward him for it if ever I returned. He then told me that he was not very rich himself, as his pay was only a pagoda and a half a month,—and, at the same time, drew out his little purse and offered me a rupee. This generous behaviour, so different from what I had hitherto experienced, drew tears from my eyes, and I thanked him for his generosity, but would not take his money.

On the morning of the 28th, we continued our journey, and crossed the pass through the mountains, and arrived at a large camp of Hyder's that was stationed there for the purpose of sending provisions to his army in the Carnatic. I was still very ill, and, upon the commandant coming to see us, I asked him to permit us to stay a couple of days in his camp to refresh ourselves, for that I should die before I got to Seringapatam, if I did not get some rest. He answered me in a rage, that "I might die and be damned—that he had received the Nabob's orders to send me to his capital, and that, if I

died on the road, he would tie a rope round my neck and drag me there." After this answer, I abandoned myself to my fate, and saw that I could gain nothing from their humanity.

I, however, from this time, regained my health every hour, and now felt no other pain than that arising from severe hunger, for our allowance was very scanty, and, although we always marched early in the morning, our guard never gave us any provisions until they had eaten their own victuals and taken a sleep, so that it was generally ten at night before we had any thing brought us to eat.

On the 30th, we arrived at a fort called Pripatam, and the inhabitants of the country came flocking around us, as if we were a parcel of wild beasts, and our guards even took money from them for shewing us. Indeed, we were most miserable-looking creatures. I was with my shaved head and a dirty shirt and trowsers, which were those I had got from the French, and which I had now had on six weeks without washing. In this situation I presented a most ludicrous figure, but I was now too much accustomed to their treatment to be much concerned at their making themselves merry at our expense. We were at this place put into a house for the first time, and, in rummaging the room, we found a large pot of fine milk, which we immediately made free with, and made a most excellent meal of it with rice ; however, in the morning, an old scolding woman came and abused us in the severest manner for stealing her milk, and in a

few minutes the whole village was collected about us, abusing us, and the commandant declared, if we were ever detected in thieving again, he would flog us all round.

On the 1st of November, we arrived at a fort called Caurapatam,* and were lodged in the usual manner. I here had a narrow escape from the fury of an enraged Rajpoot, for, happening to approach his fire-place when he was dressing his victuals, and putting my foot within the circle in which all his cooking utensils were placed, he no sooner perceived it than he drew his sword and ran after me. Seeing my danger, I made off, and sheltered myself behind a tree, whilst some of the guard came and asked the Rajpoot what I had done,—who, with all the signs of loathing, said that I had come and polluted his victuals by putting my feet within his hallowed circle. I protested that I did not mean any harm, and said that I was unacquainted with their customs; and it was with great trouble I escaped a severe chastisement. As there was a pond of water near our lodging that day, I, for the first time, took my shirt off my back, and sent my man, Mootoo, to wash it, as it was as black as a coal, and, upon his bringing it back, I gave my trowsers to undergo the same ablution.

Nothing happened material to us from this to Hyder's capital, except my having very near sustained a relapse of my disorder, from my having one day, upon

* Caverypatam, 109 miles east of Seringapatam.

our halting in an orange-grove, plucked a quantity of the fruit, although they were quite green, and, being very hungry, I immediately eat them, which brought on a violent return of my complaint, which lasted several days and then went off, principally, I believe, owing to the poorness of my diet. My severe sickness, however, gained me one advantage, for my wounds were by this time quite healed, and without the smallest assistance of medicine.

CHAPTER II.

ON the sixth of November, after performing a long march, we came upon a large plain, and, at two miles' distance, we had a distinct view of Seringapatam. Our guard immediately gave a shout of joy, but we possessed very different feelings, when we reflected that we were now come to a place of confinement, which we had no prospect of seeing soon at an end, and, from the treatment we had always experienced, we had no reason to think that it would be now altered for the better, as we were in the hands of an enemy who was always considered as one noted for cruelty, especially to the English. All these ideas gave us the most melancholy reflections.

As we approached the place, we found that Seringapatam was situated upon an island of about eight miles in circumference, formed by the river Cavery, branching off into distinct rivers, and again meeting; on the opposite side of the river, we observed our place of confinement, which was a fort, having exceedingly high walls, and of a very great length. The whole island, we

could observe at the same time, was covered over with very large populous towns.

In any other situation than ours, such a prospect would have been extremely agreeable. We were ferried over in boats to the other side, and another party of troops came and conducted us to the fort ; whilst all the various warlike instruments were sounded, as the signal of rejoicing for the great success of the Behauder against the English, since he invaded their country. As we were the first prisoners of note that had been sent to his capital, thousands of people flocked round us in order to gratify their curiosity and make their remarks, and we were obliged to stand in a row that we might give them a more distinct view. In this manner we were conducted through various windings and turnings into the middle of the fort, and were brought up to the *durbar*, which was in front of the grand parade, where the Kellidar and other great men of the place were waiting to receive us.

We were ordered to advance towards them, but only at a certain distance, and we were again obliged to stand in a row, in the heat of the sun, without daring to go to one side or the other to shelter ourselves from the great heat. During this time, the Kellidar amused himself by sending one of his inferior people and asking us a number of ridiculous questions, all of which we were too much dispirited not to answer with the greatest submission. At length, after standing nearly six hours in the heat of the sun, word was brought to the Kellidar

that our place of confinement was prepared, and we were conducted there by a strong guard.

The house was upon the right-hand side of the grand parade of the fort, and was in the shape of an oblong square, with high walls, from which projected inwards a single tiled roof in the form of a shed, and open on all sides ; and in the four angles of the house were four small rooms, or rather dungeons, without windows or the smallest portion of light. In the centre of this building there was an open space of a few yards for the air to come in, and on the outside, a very high wall built at the distance of ten yards, in order to make the place of our confinement more secure from the least possibility of escape.

After we were put into this place, the Kellidar went away, and in the room of our former guard, another, consisting entirely of Moormen, was brought in, and guarded the door of the inside of the square, whilst two other strong guards of peons were stationed at the door of the outer square. The person who had the charge of the whole was a havildar* and a Moorman, that they said "they could depend upon." His name was Mobit Khan ; his appearance was the most villainous that could be conceived, and we afterwards found that he was as bad as he looked.

He began by telling us he was our friend, and informed us that we were extremely fortunate at being

* A petty officer.

put into this house as it was the best jail in the place,—that Hyder had some time ago put some persons of great note into it, but he had been under the necessity of putting them to death some time before this, as they had been found plotting to make their escape, and he therefore, as a friend, advised us to be upon our guard. All these circumstances gave us the most gloomy thoughts, and the dirty appearance of our jail contributed to augment them.

We had not received a morsel of victuals that day, and Mobit Khan informed us that we must wait until the next morning, as the Kellidar had important business to transact, but, upon his arrival, we should know what we were to be allowed,—accordingly the Kellidar came the next day, and delivered to each of us a gold fanam, of the value of five-pence sterling, and told us that this was to be our daily allowance, and that, as we had servants of our own, they would be permitted to go to the bazar and lay out our money for us, as we thought proper. This mode we much approved of, but we told him the sum was so small that we could not possibly live upon it; he immediately stopped us by saying it was the pleasure of the Behauder his master, and that we need not ask for more, whether it was sufficient or not.

We then told him that we had no clothes, nor anything [to lie] upon but the cold ground, and begged with the greatest humility that he would assist us in that respect; he answered that he had no orders from

the Behauder to that purpose, and therefore could not do it,—after which he went away.

Mobit Khan told us that we need not ask for any more things, as he was sure they would not be granted to us, and at the same time he told us that, as he was our firm friend, he advised us to place our money in his hands, and that, as he was better acquainted with the customs of the place than our servants could be, he would, to oblige us, undertake to lay out our daily pitance to the best advantage; this proposal we most thankfully accepted, but we very soon repented of what we had done, as he gave us just barely sufficient to support life, and never thought of buying us any clothes, though we were almost naked, and the evenings and mornings were extremely cold. We now began to suspect strongly that he defrauded us out of great part of our allowance, and we therefore told him that we would take our money and lay it out ourselves; upon this demand he flew into a violent passion, abused us in the grossest manner, and asked us if we dared to think that a Mussulman would deign to cheat such miserable wretches as us? Finding that it was a smaller evil to come to an extremity with him than to be starved, we told him we would complain to the Kellidar the next time he came; he answered that, as we had entrusted our money to him, he should continue to lay it out for us.

In this manner, several days elapsed before the Kellidar made his appearance; we made our complaint to him, at which he seemed much surprised, but Mobit

Khan declared to him that it was entirely our own request that he laid out our money for us,—that we had never asked for it back, or he would have given it up with the greatest pleasure, as he was even a large sum out of pocket by giving us all manner of good things. After this he appealed to the guard for the truth of what he said, to which they all declared that it was strictly true.

Upon this, the Kellidar abused us in the severest manner for attempting to hurt the reputation of Mobit Khan, and even threatened to chastise us in public if we did not behave better; but he, at the same time, desired that we should have the management of our own money. We now thought ourselves extremely fortunate in getting our little pittance back again at the expense only of abuse, to which we were now well accustomed; and we determined by the most rigid economy, if possible, to save as much as would purchase us some clothes; we, however, after this, found Mobit Khan a most tyrannical and cruel enemy, and, as we were in every respect entirely in his power, he rendered our lives much more miserable upon that account.

Our servants were permitted to go to the bazar, and purchase us such provisions as our circumstances would admit of, but, as it entirely depended upon the caprice of our commander at what time they were to go to market, it was often very late at night before he would permit them, so that we could seldom get any provisions but of the worst kind, and extremely dear; we were,

however, enabled, in the course of a month, by almost starving ourselves, to purchase some clothes.

We remained in this manner until the tenth of December, at which time all the worst of the wounded prisoners of Baillie's army, who had been sent to Arnee, to the number of twenty-two, were put into our jail along with us. This was a most joyful meeting upon both sides, but they gave us a most dismal account of their sufferings since our separation in Hyder's camp; numbers of them had died upon the road, from the cruelty of their guards, before they reached Arnee; and there they were put into a most infamous prison, and upon so scanty an allowance of provisions and clothes that they must infallibly have died in a short time if a French officer in Hyder's camp had not, with great risk and danger, sent them a supply of money, which absolutely saved their lives.*

* This was Captain Pimorin—"the humane, the godlike Captain Pimorin," as one of the Arnee prisoners describes him, "whose name it is impossible to mention without the liveliest emotions of gratitude, admiration, and love." He fell shortly afterwards at the siege of Arcot, honourably to himself, but "to their inexpressible regret," being thus deprived of "the hope of testifying, by some visible token, their gratitude and esteem."—Nothing could surpass the kindness of the French officers in Hyder's service throughout these painful transactions.

The Arnee prisoners found, on their arrival at Seringapatam, (which the published Journal dates the twenty-third of December,) Captains Baird, Wragg, Menteith,—Lieutenants Lindsay, Massy, Chace, Turin,—and Ensigns Wilson and Stringer. The five last, being recovered of their wounds, had been sent off from Arnee to Seringapatam, on the first of November.

When they arrived amongst us, they were much better off for clothes than we were, and, as they had still some money remaining, a general subscription was made among them to give us a portion, for we were in great want of such a supply. We told them the sum we were allowed, at which they seemed greatly surprised, as they had been promised a much larger allowance.

The next day, the Kellidar came with a great number of attendants, and ordered us to stand up in a row before him, and, after counting us, he cautioned us against making any riot in the prison, and delivered to us, as usual, a fanam each. Mobit Khan then said to him, before us, "that, as we were a set of very turbulent people, it was necessary that his guard should be augmented in order to enable him to enforce his authority,"—at which the Kellidar said "that the present guard was sufficient, and that, upon the first complaint against us, we should all be put in irons."

We told him that it was neither our intention or our disposition to behave ill, and requested him that, as our numbers were now greatly augmented, he would put us into a larger house ; but this he would not listen to, and immediately left us. As some parts of our prison were preferable to others, we divided it into different shares, and drew lots for the first choice, and I was so unfortunate as to draw a berth in one of the dark rooms, which our increased numbers now obliged us to inhabit.

On the 20th, the Kellidar came in a great hurry to our prison, with all his attendants, and after calling us

out of our berths, he sent in the guards to bring out everything belonging to us ; all our bundles were accordingly displayed before him, and he found that we had amongst us six knives and forks, and two razors, which he said were very improper things for prisoners to have amongst them, and they were accordingly given to Mobit Khan, with orders to let us have them in the course of the day, but always to put them under the charge of the guard during the night. The razors, he said, might be allowed us once a week, but that two sepoys, with drawn swords, were to stand over us while we were shaving, in order, as they said, to prevent us cutting our throats. Six books were likewise found amongst us, viz., the first volume of Smollett's history of England, the third of Pope, the half of Johnson's dictionary, a prayer-book, and Mrs. Glass upon the art of cookery ; these were seized in the same manner, but with particular injunctions to the guard to deliver them out at sunrise and to take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books, in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief when left to themselves.

Our increase of numbers made us fall upon various methods of exercising our geniuses in making little nick-nacks and necessary articles, in order to make our situation as comfortable as possible, so that, our ingenuity being every day called into fresh exertions, and assisted by one another, every one in a short time was provided with a cot to sleep upon, a table and a stool.

For my part, I was a very bad carpenter, and was accordingly assisted in that branch by one of my companions, but I was become an exceeding good tailor, and had now three shirts and three pair of trowsers of my own making, and I therefore made the clothes of those that helped me in other respects.*

* "List of articles fabricated by the English officers, prisoners with Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Saib Behauder, in Seringapatam." (From "Memoirs," &c., p. 123.)

" Hats of leather.	Trowsers, ditto.
Caps, of coarse dungeree.	Socks, ditto.
Stocks, of ditto.	Buttons of thread.
Neckcloths, of ditto.	Tables of bamboo, and covered with a mat.
Banyan shirts, ditto.	Stools of ditto.
Jackets, ditto.	
Waistcoats, ditto.	
Cots of bamboo, by the means of an old knife, converted into a saw; the cot lashed with coir rope, made from the cocoa-nut.	
Bird-cages of bamboo.	
Trunks of ditto, 1100 pieces in one trunk.	
Rat-traps of ditto.	
Squirrel-traps of ditto.	
Forks of ditto.	
Backgammon tables of ditto.	
Dice, sawn with an old knife; the ivory acquired by stealth in the bazar.	
Chess-boards, of paper and cloth.	
Cards, two folds of paper and one of cloth, pasted together with thick conjee, and polished with the jaw-bone of a sheep.	
Ink, of lamp-black, with a little gum water. One chatty was placed over the head of another, to collect the smoke of the taper or wick of a lamp, which was swept off every day.	
Pens of fowl quills.	
Paints, brought in by stealth,—indigo, red wool, and turmeric."	

These little occupations enabled us to pass our time more agreeably than we otherwise could have done, but still our situation was very miserable, and our tyrannical master, Mobit Khan, was never satisfied but when he was abusing us in the grossest manner, as he knew we were entirely in his power; and this rendered us more unhappy, as he now seemed to have acquired a permanent command over us.

On the 28th, our prison was put into a most extraordinary uproar from one of our servants having brought a fowl from the bazar to his master, who pulled its neck in presence of some of the guard, which they no sooner observed but they gave him some severe blows, and, after abusing us all in the severest manner for killing an animal without having a fakeer previously to pray over it, they went and made their complaint to the Kellidar, who being informed of the extent of our crime, the offender was taken out to be punished:—With great entreaties, he was forgiven, but we were given to understand that, if we ever killed any animal in our prison without its having undergone the usual ceremony, we should all be punished.

As our servants had for some time past been allowed greater liberty to speak to the people at the bazar than formerly, a letter was slipped into one of their hands by a black man, who desired them to give it to us without its being seen by the guard. It was from the private men, who were, to the number of three hundred, confined in a large house at some distance from us. They informed

us that they had been treated in the cruellest manner before their arrival at Seringapatam, and that near a hundred of their number had died upon the road, but that since their arrival their usage had been better, and their allowance of provisions had been enlarged, which good treatment, they said, they could only account for from the design of the Kellidar to entice them into the Behauder's service, which they declared they would undergo every severity rather than comply with. This was the first time that we had heard from them, and we were extremely glad that their situation was so much better than we had supposed.

January the first, [1781]. As we had, some time past, been determined to keep the new year as comfortably as our circumstances would permit, we had, ever since the arrival of the Arnee prisoners, been at great trouble and expense in fattening a bullock, which one of the gentlemen had purchased in the Carnatic, and which had been preserved to make a good feast for us upon this day,—and it had been for a long time the most agreeable subject of our conversation, the excellent dishes that he would produce. We therefore told Mobit Khan in the evening, that we wanted to kill him, and requested that he would bring the fakeer to perform the usual ceremony; but, instead of complying with our desire, he abused us in the most shameful manner, saying that we were a parcel of thieves, and that we had stolen the bullock out of some of the Nabob's villages upon the road. It was in vain that we protested that we had

purchased him in the Carnatic ; he did not chuse to believe us, but immediately sent to the Cutcherry* and made his complaint to the Kellidar, who, upon the reputation of Mobit Khan, ordered the bullock to be taken away from us, and by this means our long-expected feast was disappointed.†

We were now exasperated beyond measure, that our lives should be embittered so much more by the tyrannical disposition of this villain, who now seemed to have

* Court of justice.

† “In most of the prisons, it was the custom to celebrate particular days, when the funds admitted, with the luxury of plantain fritters, a draught of sherbet, and a convivial song.^a On one occasion, the old Scotch ballad, ‘My wife has ta’en the gee,’ was admirably sung, and loudly encored. The ‘haute police’ had a particular cognizance of all that was said and sung during these orgies; and it was reported to the Kellidar, that the prisoners ‘had said and sung, throughout the night, of nothing but *ghee*,’ (clarified butter;) this incident occurred but a short time previously to their release, and the Kellidar, certain that discoveries had been made regarding his malversations in that article of garrison store, determined to conciliate their secrecy by causing an abundant supply of this unaccustomed luxury to be thenceforth placed within the reach of their farthing purchases.”—*Wilks*, ii., 524.

^a For instance :—

“June 4 [1781]. In honour of his majesty’s birthday, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a flour pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of sherbet.”

“June 4 [1782]. In honour of his majesty’s birthday, we have celebrated it with a pilaw, and drank his health in sherbet.”

“June 4 [1783]. In honour of his majesty’s birthday, we had for dinner two quarters of stewed mutton, with a bread pudding; and drank his health in pure water.”—*Memoirs, &c.*

acquired a permanent reign over us ; but we determined at some future time to try what an unanimous outcry and complaint would do, in order to get rid of him.

January 10th. As Baird's wound, and [that of] another of the prisoners, began to break out afresh and give them great pain, the Kellidar, upon repeated application, at length permitted the French surgeon of the place to come once a day to the prison, and attend them and such others as were sick ; this was a point that we had been long endeavouring to gain, not only for his medical assistance, but we expected that he would tell us the news and likewise convey some letters to our friends, who would by the same channel supply us with money.

We were, however, greatly disappointed in both these respects, as he was completely ignorant of his own profession, and without any medicines, and Mobit Khan, or some other of the guard, took care always to be present during the whole of the time that he was permitted to remain with us.

March 10th. As the weather, ever since the beginning of the year, had been extremely hot, we were now, upon repeated entreaties, permitted to remain in the outer square during the course of the day ; this was a great point gained, as it not only gave us more room, but, as the grand parade was just before us, it was some amusement to us, who had now been so long confined, to observe the many different objects that presented themselves to our view. The greatest part of the houses

and choultries* around us, we found, were full of multitudes of inhabitants of the Carnatic, all of whom Hyder had made embrace the Mahometan religion ; about three thousand of these unwilling proselytes, most of them being young men, were formed into different battalions, and were now exercised mornings and evenings upon the parade, under the instructions of two or three Frenchmen, who seemed, however, not to be very well fitted for that office.

On another part of the parade, there was about an equal number of women and girls, under the same description, confined together in a large square house, and who, we were informed, were reserved to be married to the boys when they were grown up.

The sepoys likewise informed us, that the Behauder had driven the greatest part of the inhabitants of the Carnatic into the inner parts of his own country, in order to cultivate those districts which lay waste from the want of people ; these circumstances we had, until now, been totally unacquainted with, and experience soon showed us that Hyder was paying as much attention to the improvement of his country, from the ruins of the Carnatic, as he did to the improvement of the discipline of his army ; indeed, when we first arrived at Seringapatam, we had always flattered ourselves with hopes that the superior force of the English army would soon compel Hyder to ask for peace, but, as we now

* Resting-places for travellers.

plainly saw, large quantities of various sorts of stores were continually going from this place, and while we saw that the enemy's country was in a flourishing state, we well knew that the Carnatic was desolate and unable to supply the wants of our army.—When we reflected upon these circumstances, we could not help having the most desponding thoughts, that our deliverance was still at a great distance.

CHAPTER III.

MAY 10th. We had now passed near a month without any extraordinary occurrence happening to us, different from our usual treatment, and we began to think that the extent of our bad usage would go no further lengths, when we were this day, upon being called out, as usual in the morning, to be counted, greatly astonished to see a number of blacksmiths come into our prison with loads of irons on their backs, which they then threw upon the ground, and immediately went out. This circumstance alarmed us in the cruellest manner, and we began to interrogate our guard for what purpose they were meant, which they refused to answer ; we therefore recalled to our minds our past conduct, to find out if any part of it could give them a sufficient pretext for so severe a punishment as we were now apprehensive was going to take place,—but we could not, in the smallest degree, charge ourselves with having acted contrary to the conduct that our situation, as prisoners to such an enemy, required. We remained in this situation until

the afternoon, when the Kellidar and all the officers of the garrison, accompanied with a strong guard, came and desired us to be put in irons.

Captain Lucas, who spoke the language of the country extremely well, was, upon this important occasion, deputed by us all to interpret for the whole, and he asked the Kellidar, "what crime we had been guilty of, to deserve such infamous treatment? for that we had always behaved in the most submissive manner, and that, ever since our captivity, we had experienced nothing but insults, not only from the Behauer's principal officers, but even from his common sepoy,—yet we could not imagine that he would go to such a length as to load a number of officers (whose only crime was having served their country,) with the disgraceful burden of irons."

This speech, being for the first time delivered with firmness, was with difficulty permitted by the Kellidar's attendants, who were going to chastise Captain Lucas for his presumption,—who, notwithstanding, was not in the least intimidated, but asked the Kellidar, with a tone of dignity, "if it was by his approbation that a man like him, whose hairs were grey, and who had received thirteen different wounds, which rendered him a cripple for life, should either meet with unmerited insult, or, after all his hardships, be shamefully put into irons?"

The Kellidar, who seemed to be a little ashamed of the transaction for the first time, answered, with mildness, that we did not know the nature of the Behauer's

orders or government,—that, high as his situation was, his master would in a moment reduce him to nothing, if he even deviated in the smallest degree from the instructions he received, whether they were to treat us with benefits, or overwhelm us with misery ; and he finished by saying that “whatever he did was by the order of the Nabob, his master.”

After this, he left us, and, with a tone of authority, desired the guard to do their duty.

Mobit Khan now assumed the command, and, with his usual abuse, directed us to come forward and let the blacksmiths rivet the irons upon our legs. We had, for some time past, entertained the most melancholy thoughts, but now, seeing that it was in vain to complain or remonstrate, we submitted to our fate, like men who had long been familiarised with misfortune, and, as we had hitherto kept up our spirits, we determined not to cast them down at this fresh instance of barbarity, but to look forward for more happy days.

By ten at night we were all in irons.*—The next day, we found that, in order to make our imprisonment more

* Except Captain Baird, who was not put in irons till the 10th November following.

“When they were about,” says his biographer, “to put the irons upon Captain Baird, who was completely disabled in his right leg, in which the wound was still open, and whence the ball had just then been extracted, his friend, Captain Lucas, who spoke the language perfectly, sprang forward, and represented in very strong terms to the Myar the barbarity of fettering him while in such a dreadful state, and assured

secure, our guard was augmented throughout the different parts of our jail. The rigour of our treatment was now, in every respect, become more severe, and many little articles, that we were permitted before this to purchase out of our allowance, were prohibited. The French surgeon, who had been ordered to attend us, was now taken away, and we were informed by the Kellidar that, if ever we were detected in carrying on any correspondence with any of the other prisoners of the fort, we should have our noses and ears cut off ; this, however, we rather chose to risk incurring, than to deprive ourselves of any opportunity of hearing the news of our army ; and whenever we heard of any fresh prisoners being confined in the other parts of the fort, we

him that death would be the inevitable termination of Captain Baird's sufferings, if the intention were persisted in.

"The Myar replied, that the Circar had sent as many pairs of irons as there were prisoners, and they must be put on. Captain Lucas then offered to wear two sets himself, in order to save his friend. This noble act of generosity moved the compassion even of the Myar, who said he would send to the Kellidar to open the book of fate. He did so, and when the messenger returned, he said the book had been opened, and Captain Baird's fate was good ; and the irons were in consequence not put on at that time. Could they really have looked into the volume of futurity, Baird would undoubtedly have been the last man to be spared."

—*Life, &c.*, i. 44.

"Each pair of irons was from eight to nine pounds weight. This was the commencement of a deliberate system, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off."—*Journal, "Memoirs," &c.* p. 47.

Captain Lucas (with Ensign MacAulay) had arrived on the 29th of January. He subsequently died in prison.

left no means unattempted to establish a correspondence.*

Although the news we acquired from that channel was frequently more calculated to distress our spirits than to raise them, we even used to bribe the sepoys of the guard to inform us if our army was successful, and they, finding our anxiety upon that head, used to frame accounts out of their own heads, either for or against us, according to the magnitude of the sum we gave them,—so that, one day, our army was victorious and peace was nearly concluded—some days afterwards, they would

* “ Our servants, and those who attended the soldiers, met together every day, in order to receive their daily allowance of rice. Hence we had an opportunity of corresponding with our fellow-captives in the different prisons, by means of a rice cake, or hopper, and a cheroot, or sagar,* which is some leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube, so as to be smoked without the aid of a pipe, or any other instrument. One would ask another if he would eat a bit of hopper. The person who offered this refreshment took care to give that part of the cake which contained the letter. In like manner one would ask another for a sagar, and the other, understanding the meaning of the request, would give him what he wanted, if any intelligence was to be communicated,—if not, he would perhaps say that he had none. In this manner we had an opportunity of exchanging sentiments, of condoling with one another, and of contributing what little was in our power to the relief of those who were in the greatest want or distress. The consolation we felt in this intercourse of sympathetic affection induced us even to encounter the danger of death; for this most assuredly would have been our lot if our correspondence had been discovered.” —*Journal, in “Memoirs of the War,” &c., p. 49.*

* Cigar.

declare that the Behauder had completed his conquest of the Carnatic, and that crowds of prisoners would soon arrive at Seringapatam. This eagerness for news made our lives, if possible, more miserable than they otherwise would have been.

May 17. I this day made a most agreeable discovery in my berth, for, as I was fixing a rope from a part near the roof, I pulled out a tile, and upon looking through this hole, was agreeably surprised to find that that part of the prison looked into the principal street of the town, and the vast concourse of people that presented themselves to the sight, and the various objects that were continually passing backwards and forwards, was an agreeable amusement to feast the eyes with. I therefore took care to place the tile so as to move it to one side when I wanted to look, and to keep it shut at other times, that the guard might not take notice of it.

We had now, for some days past, been engaged in purchasing leather to make a kind of spatterdashes for our ankles, in order to make the irons lie a little easier upon our legs, and, with this assistance, we were enabled to walk a little without much pain; but, as the link, from ring to ring, was not above eight inches in length, our step was so much confined that a very little exertion in walking fatigued us, so that we could not take the daily exercise as usual.* We were obliged to fall upon

* The effects of this constraint were visible in the gait of many of these unfortunate gentlemen for some time after their release. "Though

other means to amuse ourselves, and with the assistance of cards, made of coarse paper and cloth, and backgammon-tables, which we made of stripes of bamboos—(which two articles we, in time, arrived at great perfection in)—we amused our tedious hours. Our prison was now swarming with innumerable quantities of large rats, and we laid wagers who would kill the greatest number in twenty-four hours, so that the exertions of a number of us that were occupied with a desire of extirpating those vermin, were so successful that, in a few hours, we often destroyed upwards of a hundred; and as the sepoys have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

May 10th. Colonel Baillie, and two other officers that had been kept with Hyder in the camp, arrived here this day, and were put into a house opposite to us, and, as their servants went to the bazar as ours did, they sent us a note, informing us that, after the taking of Arcot, they had been confined in a dark house in the inner fort, and that, upon our army, under General Coote,

our irons," says one of them, "were knocked off, it was a long time before we recovered the use of our limbs, and learned to walk with perfect freedom;—never was the inveterate power of habit more forcibly displayed than on this occasion. We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no act of volition, could, for several days, overcome the habit of making the short and constrained steps to which we had so long been accustomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a subject of laughter to ourselves as well as to others."—*Memoirs, &c.,* p. 201.

moving from Madras, Hyder immediately took the field, and, after previously putting them in irons, sent them off to Seringapatam. This information gave us great satisfaction, as we once more began to flatter ourselves that our army would soon gain a decided superiority over the enemy.*

May 25th. We were this day greatly surprised, upon our looking out upon the grand parade, to see a number of white men, clothed in the Mahometan dress, exercising the black people after the English discipline. Upon

* For May, *March* should apparently be read, as it was on the 8th of that month, according to the published journal, that Colonel Baillie arrived at Seringapatam.—“8 March. Arrived Lieut. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer,—the two first of these gentlemen in irons, as they also had been during their journey from Arcot to this place, which is upwards of two hundred and forty miles; they were lodged in a veranda, an open gallery, opposite to our prison, at the distance of about two hundred yards.

“Arrived at the same time Mr. Skardon, resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Brunton, late an ensign in the company’s service, and a Mr. Mac-Neal, mate of a country ship: the two last sent amongst the soldiers, and Mr. Skardon to our prison, with the daily allowance of six cash, one sear of rice, half a sear of doll, and a little ghee; this allowance was poor indeed, but as we were on every occasion ready with our small pittance to assist our brother sufferers, we made a monthly subscription in order to put him on a level with us.”—*Memoirs, &c.*, p. 46.—“But it is one of the most remarkable and beautiful features of this dreadful captivity,” observes Sir D. Baird’s biographer, “that every man during its continuation seemed more anxious for his fellow-sufferers than for himself; and that every opportunity was seized by the whole party, to ameliorate the condition of those who were at times even worse off than themselves.”

our inquiring of the sepoys of our guard, what they were? they informed us that they were some of our private soldiers who, being tired at the length of their confinement, had entered into the Behauder's service and turned Mussulmen. This account gave us the greatest grief, and we could not help believing it to be true when we saw them plainly before our eyes. We therefore made no scruple to condemn them as a parcel of villains that had abandoned their country, and who deserved death if they were ever caught; a few days, however, after this, we received a letter from the soldiers' prison, informing us that the Kellidar had selected from amongst them all the young men, and asked them to enter into the Behauder's service, which they refused,—upon which he, with the assistance of a strong guard, dragged them out by force from their companions, and that they were unacquainted with what was become of them since, or for what purpose they were separated from them.

This account made us alter our sentiments of these unfortunate men, especially as we could plainly see them, whenever they came upon the parade, making signs to us, as if they were desirous of explaining their situation;* we therefore waited, in the greatest suspense,

* "The first day that Captain Baird saw, from the window of his prison, these Highlanders on the parade, in the square, in their capacity of sergeants, his distress and horror at beholding men of his own company voluntarily, as he thought, doing duty in Tippoo's service, are not to be told. He was observed by some of the poor fellows peeping through the grate of his dungeon, and, overcome by the sight of their

until we could gain an opportunity of learning from themselves whether their situation was voluntary or forced. After waiting some days, we began to despair of being able to gain the information we wished, when Colonel Baillie, who had been as much surprised at this extraordinary event as ourselves, at length received a letter from them, which he afterwards sent to us ; it was as follows :—*

“ Sir,

Your servant casting a sign to us some time ago, gives us reason to think that you would be desirous to know something of our unheard-of unfortunate situation, not to be equalled in the history or account of any nation. On Wednesday last, † the Brahmin came to our prison and, after calling the men in, he selected the underwritten|| from the rest, smiths being prepared to

much-loved officer, they rushed from the ranks and called out to him, ‘ Captain Baird, rely upon us, this is not *our* fault,’ and wept bitterly. Captain Baird’s feelings may be more easily conceived than described, when his guards forced him from the grating, in order to prevent his committing the inexpiable crime of replying to his gallant countrymen and comrades.”—*Life, &c.*, i., 53.

* A copy of this letter, but signed, “ John Maxwell Dempster,” only, is given in the published Journal, as received 28th October,—and another from Ensign Clarke, received 11th November.

† “ On Wednesday, the 19th of September,” &c.—*Copy in the published Journal.*

|| “ He selected sixteen from the rest.”—*Ibid.*

knock off their irons, without giving us the smallest idea of what was to ensue ; he then conducted us to the Nabob's, when they informed us upon what account we were released, and in a very flattering manner requested us to take service.

All their promises and tenders were refused with disdain by fourteen of us;* then they changed their tone, and menaced us in the severest manner, and the Jemmat Major threatened to take our lives. We were conducted from thence to a large square, the repository or seminary of the boys you see every night at exercise. Upon our arrival there, how great was our astonishment to find two English lads amongst these boys, who had been circumcised about three months before our arrival —one of whom [is] a Mr. Clarke, who was an ensign in the second battalion, second regiment, and a private of the same. They informed us immediately that we were that night to be circumcised ; they had scarcely finished telling us, when the guard came in, accompanied by a barber.

You, sir, will surely conceive what our situation was, dragged to what every Christian in the universe utterly abhors, and surrounded by enemies, whose very soul is ten times blacker than their visage. After some resistance on the part of every one, we were at last obliged to sit down, and suffer ourselves to be shaved, after

* “ By fourteen of us,” not in published copy.

which we remained in the cruellest uncertainty for three or four hours, when our ill-favoured guard brought us a dose of majum* each, and obliged us to eat it; it worked differently upon us,—some were insensible, others were not. A little after sunset, the surgeon came, and with him thirty or forty Caffres, who seized us and held us fast, till the operation was performed; we remained under cure for two months upon six cash per day, with mutton, rice, &c.

On the 30th,† we were conducted to the Cutcherry, and there questioned if we would teach these boys the English discipline, for which we should receive one fanam per day, with provisions, clothes, &c., which we hope, in our present situation, you will not construe into any disaffection to our officers or country, it being all force and constraint, however actuated by a lively sorrow that you, in your present distressful situation, should be a witness to the same, that were so lately under your command, whose indulgence and paternal care, particularly on the day of action, was second to that of none; and we humbly make bold to assure you that every man in this and the other prisons are at any time ready to lay down their lives and rescue you from the smallest harm; our fondness was the cause of our running this hazard,—and most heartily and sincerely wishing to see you shortly released, and in a situation of releas-

* A stupifying drug.

† October. Published copy.

ing us unfortunate victims from the chains of this barbarian,

JOHN COWAN, JOHN MACKENMORE, ALEXANDER ROSS, JAMES SINCLAIR, ROBERT MACKENZIE, CORPORAL ANDERSON, DONALD STUART,	} CAPT. BAIRD'S Company. } CAPT. LINDSAY'S Company.
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And fifteen other men of the Company's soldiers."

This account of their miserable situation made us very unhappy, as we never before this had the smallest idea that they would go to such lengths as to force the prisoners into their service ; and the thoughts of every day seeing these men, that had been formerly under our command, exercising our enemies before our face, was the most mortifying sight that could have presented itself to us.

July 10th. The same Brahmin that had taken out the unfortunate soldiers from the other prison, came this day to ours, and desired us to turn out of our berths, which we accordingly did, but with the most alarming apprehensions that our fate was going to be the same as that of the privates ; we, however, determined to undergo every extremity rather than comply, or be separated from one another. However, the Brahmin sat down on a carpet by the guard, and called us towards him, and told us it was the Behauder's orders to ask us if we were

willing to enter into his service, which if we would comply with, he would even give us more pay, and a greater command, than we had enjoyed in our own country's service. Captain Lucas told him, in answer, that "we were obliged to the Nabob for his offer, but that we were all officers and gentlemen, and that neither the most alluring offers, nor the severest torments, would ever induce any of us to abandon our religion and country."

The Brahmin having received this answer, asked us no further questions, but immediately went away, at which we were as much overjoyed as we would have been had we heard that peace was concluded; we were, however, under great apprehensions, for some days afterwards, that he would pay us another visit upon the same subject, but, as he did not, our fears for the present were silenced upon this head; but when we considered that we were equally liable at all times, from the same caprice or resentment of Hyder, to be dragged by force from our jail like our unfortunate soldiers, the thoughts that such an event might sooner or later take place made our lives extremely miserable.

In other respects, we had by this time accommodated our ideas to the situation we were in, and, although the smallness of our allowance was hardly sufficient to procure us the common necessaries of life, yet we all acknowledged that, had our circumstances enabled us to indulge our appetites, it would have been very prejudicial to our health in such a confined situation as we were in, without fresh air or the means of taking any

exercise ; indeed the manner of our treatment, and the mode of our living, were now become so regular and familiar to us, that one week's occurrences being mentioned, independent of the more extraordinary events that from time to time befel us, was the occupation of the whole year.

Monday :—Mobit Khan comes into the yard at six in the morning, with half of the guard, and, after abusing us all for some minutes, he desires us to turn out immediately to be mustered, which we do—grumbling very much, when we are getting up, at being obliged twice a day to stand for half an hour in a row, to be counted like so many head of cattle.

Mobit Khan, upon whom we have for some time past bestowed the name of Bruin, says that we are a parcel of mutinous rascals, that the Behauer is too good to us, and that our backsides are grown fat from the excess of his country and having nothing to do. The rivets of our irons are now examined to see if they are fast, after which the knives and forks are delivered out to us. The milkman comes to the door of the prison—he takes advantages of us, and sells it very dear ; those that eat rice for their breakfast, buy a small quantity each from him —tell him that he mixes water with it,—he says that we lie—appeals to Bruin, who declares that it is as good milk as ever was tasted. The baker likewise makes his appearance ; he has not many customers, but those who have delicate stomachs, and look more to the quality than to the quantity, buy some of the bread.

Our boys are now desired to prepare to go to the bazar with the guard—we give them particular instructions to pick up all the news they can.—Play at cards, or catch rats and mice during the forenoon—the servants come back ; my man, Mootoo, tells me there are no news to-day, and that every thing is dear in the bazar—am obliged to dine to-day upon rice and ghee—suspect that Mootoo has cheated me of some of my rice—am resolved to match him—am obliged to eat very moderately at present, as my shirts are worn out, and I am saving money to buy a piece of cloth ; it will be more than six weeks before I shall be able to buy others.

Tuesday :—Get up in the morning at the usual time —go through the usual ceremonies—look out at my peep-hole—see a vast number of Brahmin girls going down to the river to wash—four or five hundred horse pass by, guarding a multitude of the Carnatic inhabitants —a Moorman of high family, celebrating his marriage, passes by in great state, and his wife in a covered palanquin—two old Moorwomen under the house scolding—a crowd of people around them, to whom they are telling their story—shut my tile for fear they should look up and observe me.—To-day have curry and rice for my dinner,—and plenty of it, as C——, my messmate, has got the gripes and cannot eat his allowance.

Wednesday :—Finish a pack of cards to-day ; the workmanship is much admired—B——likewise finishes a backgammon-table—sell my cards for a fanam.—Have the itch for some time past, owing to the bad water—

the dog eats up half a fanam's worth of brimstone and butter—threaten to kill him, if ever I catch him in my berth—D——, to whom he belongs, says I dare not hold an argument on that point. A very disagreeable day—a very unwholesome smell in the prison from the quantity of stagnated water and rubbish; the rain comes through the roof of the house, and wets everything.

Thursday :—To-day have some stewed mutton and bread for my dinner—it is very good, and not near enough of it, as it is a very expensive dinner.—Sheikh Hussein, upon the guard, tells me that our army has beat the Behauder, and that peace was making; another sepoy, in the afternoon, tells us that the Behauder had destroyed our army, and was besieging Madras.—A great number of people at exercise upon the parade; the Europeans make signs to us, for which we observe a Moorman beating them—look towards Colonel Baillie's prison; make signs to one another—wrestle in play with Baird; his foot catches in the chains of my irons, and throws him down and scratches his face—Bruin is going to thrash me for fighting, says that I am the property of the Behauder—that I must neither lame myself nor any of my companions.

Friday :—Am much surprised to-day at hearing a salute of twenty-one guns—am told by Bruin that our army was totally destroyed, and that the prisoners would arrive in a few days—am very melancholy at the news—find out that the reason of the rejoicing was that Hyder had nearly been killed by a shot from the ram-

part at Trichinopoly, and that it was for his narrow escape.—A large palace building at the end of our prison, as a present from Hyder to Tippoo Saib for his gallant behaviour against the English.—The Kellidar comes to our prison to-day, to know if any of us are blacksmiths or carpenters, and that he would give us great pay if we would work for him—am much hurt at the question.—Lose my dinner to-day from a rice-pudding that I sent to be boiled ; the pot burnt the bottom of the bag, and it all ran out.—Standing upon my bed to look out of my peep-hole, it tumbled down—am obliged to sleep upon the ground until I mend it.—Am in a very bad humour to-day.

Saturday :—Have curry and rice for my dinner to-day.—The sepoys tell us that our king's son is arrived at Madras with a quantity of wooden houses, and that numbers of men were landing out of their bellies. They say he is determined to take this place, and make the Behauder carry his palanquin for his usage to us.—My turn to-day to buy oil for a light for the prison at night,—a severe expense.—Mootoo brings me a letter to-day from a sergeant of my company—he likewise sends me a duck and a handkerchief,—send a note to him and thank him for his present, but desire him to send no more, as I am determined to live upon my own allowance.

Sunday :—The washerman brings our clean clothes, for which we pay him a fanam per month each, which is a very great deduction out of our allowance.—My leather

spatterdashes are worn out with the rubbing of my chains—it costs me half a fanam to buy others.—Am tormented every day by a parcel of gentlemen coming to the end of my berth to talk politics and smoke she-roots—advise them rather to think of mending the holes in their old shirts like me, than trouble themselves about settling the balance of power in India and in Europe, as it will not get them out of prison the sooner,—they are much offended, and tell me I deserve to be a prisoner all my life for my want of curiosity.—To-day have six eggs for my dinner—find five of them rotten—am going to throw them away, but T——, who has a voracious appetite, and never enough to satisfy it, takes and eats them, saying that I am too nice for a prisoner upon a fanam per day.*

* See the tables of prison expenses in Seringapatam, printed (from the "Memoirs of the late War," &c.) at the close of this journal.

CHAPTER IV.

OCTOBER 10th.—We were this day in great spirits upon finding that our present guard was to be relieved, and another placed in its room. Mobit Khan had, some days previous to this, insulted one of the gentlemen, and we had, contrary to our usual conduct, surrounded him, and, after abusing him in our turn, we declared that we would take his life ; he was extremely frightened, and, after he had disengaged himself, declared that he would have our noses and ears cut off for our behaviour. He accordingly went in a great rage to the Kellidar, and told him we had beat him, and that we intended to take the fort ; the Kellidar made his appearance, and, though we were all extremely frightened, we told him that there could not be a set of quieter prisoners than we were, but that we had been so long insulted by this villain that we would rather lose our lives than endure it any longer, and therefore desired that he would send us another commander.

The Kellidar abused us severely, and said that he

would order us to be chained to the ground ; we, however, heard no more of the business until this day, when a guard of Rajpoots came and relieved the one that was over us,—and we hissed and abused Mobit Khan out of the prison. We soon found that we had made a most happy change, and, though the Rajpoots were extremely passionate, and apt to do violent things while their rage lasted, yet they never failed, when they were cool, to be sorry for their conduct, and even ask us to forgive them ; so that in every respect we found them better men than the Moormen, and better acquainted with the customs of Europeans.

November 6th.—This day there is great rejoicing ; the parade is enclosed, and various spectacles, of men wrestling, dancing girls, and wild beasts fighting, are displayed before the front of the Rajah's palace, who is permitted by Hyder to show himself once a year to the people from a balcony, as they still hold the ancient Gentoo government in great veneration, and Hyder finds it politic to call himself the Rajah's prime minister and general. All the rest of the year, he is kept a prisoner in his palace, and Hyder, out of the revenues of the country, allows him one lack of rupees a year, for the support of his family.

November 15th.—We were this day much concerned to find that three hundred of the privates, that were in the other prison, were taken out and sent to another fort called Chitteldroog, in a distant part of Hyder's country ; we were told that the reason of it was, the

number of Carnatic prisoners, and the new Mussulmen that were in the fort, they were afraid, would rise and, with the assistance of the different European prisoners, overpower the fort ; the feasibility of this had often struck us, and a set of men in our situation, once put in action, and rendered desperate from the certainty of death if we miscarried, they would have found a very formidable enemy.

January 1, 1782.—This day ushered in a new year, and, though we had been prisoners upwards of sixteen months, our prospect of deliverance from our miserable situation seemed to be farther distant from our view than ever, as our hopes had been so often disappointed. Most of us had now got swellings in our legs from the weight of our irons and the confined state of our limbs.

February 5th.—The present Kellidar of Seringapatam is appointed collector of the Nabob's revenues, and another arrives from the camp to relieve him ; his name is Sidy Behy,—he was originally a Nair,* but, being taken prisoner when a boy, Hyder made him a Mussulman, since when he has been one of his greatest favourites ; he this day came to our prison to muster us, and behaved in a much kinder manner than the other ever did.

March 9th.—This day we received the accounts from an European prisoner, that Sirdar Khan, Hyder's nephew, who commanded his army before Tillicherry, was

* The Nairs, pure Sudras by origin, form the military caste of Malabar, next in rank after the Brahmins.

entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner ; the sepoys at the same time, informed us that the Nabob was making peace, and that it would soon be concluded.

March 20th.—We had, for some time past, made the remark that, whenever our hopes were in any measure raised by some good intelligence, it was generally followed by some alarming occurrence, which dashed our expectations to the ground,—and we this day had this observation completely verified, upon seeing, early in the morning, a very strong guard come into our prison, followed by twenty-two officers in as deplorable a condition as dirt and wounds could reduce men to, and, to crown our misfortunes, they informed us that they belonged to the army of Colonel Braithwaite, who, having advanced too far from the capital of Tanjore country, in order to protect the inhabitants while they were collecting grain, Tippoo Saib, who lay with his army upon the red hills of Pondicherry, made two astonishing rapid marches, and attacked their camp before the spies could give them the smallest intelligence of their approach ; they, however, for the space of two days sustained their repeated attacks, though with an army vastly inferior, but, having during that time lost above half of their numbers, and seeing no hope of relief for those that remained, they were under the necessity of asking for quarter, which Tippoo immediately granted, and treated them with the greatest humanity while they remained with him, but, upon being sent to Hyder, they were treated in the cruellest manner. They told us, likewise, that as now there

was no army remaining to keep the field in the southern countries, it was generally supposed that all the garrisons in the course of a month must fall into the hands of the enemy, and, to complete our misfortunes, the French fleet at this time had arrived upon the coast with a body of troops for the assistance of Hyder, who was now fully bent upon the extirpation of the English out of the Carnatic.

To a set of men like us, who had been two years prisoners, and who knew that our deliverance totally depended upon the success of our arms, nothing could have been more dreadful than the news of these complicated misfortunes,—but we now felt evils of another nature, which came more immediately home to us and absorbed all other thoughts.

Our prison, that was before too small, we now found beyond measure intolerable, and although we were now permitted to occupy the outer square, yet the increase of our numbers, and the bad quality of the air, caused almost every one in our jail to be taken ill ; and, to complete our misfortunes, the monsoon season set in in a much severer manner than usual, and, what with the quantity of rain that overflowed our prison, the badness of the water that we were obliged to make use of, and our want of clothes to shelter us from the inclemencies of the weather, a kind of disorder, like the jail-distemper, had crept in amongst us. Myself, and four others, were attacked more severely than the rest, with violent bloody fluxes, and, as we were in a very dangerous situ-

ation, we made repeated applications for the European surgeon to be permitted to come and assist us, which the Kellidar told us he could not allow, but, if we chose, he would send us some black doctors.

I positively refused to put myself under their charge, and said I would rather let my disorder take its course ; but the other four, who were rather worse than me, said that they would put themselves under their directions ; the surgeons therefore came, and without giving them any previous medicines in order to remove the cause of their complaint, they administered large quantities of opium, which immediately stopped their flux, and the consequence of it was that they all died in twenty-four hours of mortifications in the bowels.

The guards made some pariahs, of the lowest race of men, come into the prison, who dragged them out and threw them into the bed of the river, to be devoured by jackals. From what I had seen, I determined to keep to my resolution, although my disorder gained ground. In the course of the month, three others died of the same disorder, and the monsoon finished without the effects of it proving fatal to any more.*

* The deaths of Lieutenant Lind, on the 14th April, and of Captain Lucas, Mr. Hope, (eldest son of Sir John Hope,) and of Ensign Macdonochie, on the 5th, 7th, and 9th of July, are mentioned in the published journal.—“Captain Lucas’s death,” says the writer, “was bitterly lamented by the whole prison. He was distinguished by good natural talents as well as acquired accomplishments. In his manners he was unassuming, amiable and engaging ; and the cheerfulness and viva-

[About November.] We had, for some time past, entertained the hopes that Hyder would be contented with the men he had already forced to embrace the Mahometan religion, as he had not molested any of the prisoners for a considerable time upon that head ; we were, however, greatly deceived, as we this day observed upon the parade near a hundred men in the Moorish dress, which was so great an augmentation to their numbers that we too justly suspected that he had made a number more become the unwilling proselytes of his religion ; and we were the more persuaded of it, as they were continually making the most earnest signs to us.

It was some days before we could convey a letter to them, which upon accomplishing, we by the same opportunity received two from them, the contents of which filled us with grief and astonishment, and are as follows :—*

city of his temper, which were expressed in lively songs and facetious sallies, scattered frequent rays of mirth on our gloomy mansion.”—P. 69.

“ Captain Baird himself,” says his biographer, “ was at this period suffering dreadfully from dysentery, and he has often described the torture, when under the blessing of Providence he was recovering, that he experienced from hunger, which the scanty prison allowance did not afford the means of allaying, even with the coarsest food. He used frequently to declare, that the inclination he felt to snatch a portion of their food from others was almost unconquerable, and that if the least morsel was left by any of them, he swallowed it with the greatest eagerness and delight.”—*Life*, i., 48.

* These letters are inserted, evidently erroneously, under the date of

“ Gentlemen,

We were yesterday agreeably surprised to receive a letter from you, which has been our constant wish since we came here, and are extremely obliged to you for the trouble you must have been at in forwarding it to us, having made many attempts ourselves but never could succeed. We are particularly thankful for the concern you feel upon our account, and the promises you make us of representing our situation to those in whose power it will be to rescue us from our miserable situation. You have requested us to relate to you the particulars of our ill fortune, and also to answer some questions which you have put down, both of which we will readily comply with as far as lies in our power, and are sorry we cannot give you so satisfactory an account as you probably expect.

Being surrounded* by the grand army in January last, and left in Vellore, we cannot speak from our own knowledge, but the news we send is what we got from Ensign Byrne, who came up to Vellore in June with one company of sepoys, three guns, and a number of polygars, with provisions for the garrison, and we, being anxious

March 9, in Mr. Lindsay's journal. For their reception on the 18th November, my authority is the journal published in the “Memoirs of the late War.”—The subsequent passage too, respecting Colonel Baillie's death, having been inadvertently referred to 1781, is here restored to its proper place.

* “Wounded.”—*Copy in “Memoirs,” &c.*

to join the army, left Vellore to go back with them ; but we had not quitted the place eighteen hours, when Tip-poo's whole force appeared and came down upon us ; we fought them for some time, when the polygars fled and were cut to pieces by the horse :—in this situation, deserted by them, most of the sepoys killed, and our ammunition expended, we hoisted a white handkerchief for quarter, which they granted immediately, and we were made prisoners by a French officer, and Ensign Byrne by a black commander.

While we remained in Tippoo Saib's camp, we were very well used, but when we arrived at the father's, we had every reason to repent the exchange, receiving only a measure of rice, and a pice per day ; we remained with him only five days, the last of which we were sent for by Hyder's Duan, Kistnarow, who ordered Mr. Byrne only in irons, but both of us to be put with a parcel of small boys. Next morning, we were marched for Seringapatam, and after five days' march, we were overtaken by Ensign Byrne and Lieutenant Crutzer, of the cavalry, who, with a troop belonging to the grand guard, were cut off near Arnee, [which] is probably what has been represented to you as a regiment of cavalry, there having been no other accident of the kind.

We were much surprised to find that we were bound for different places, but we never guessed their horrid intentions with regard to us until our arrival at Seringapatam, where, instead of being put amongst you, we

were marched with the boys into a large square building, a mile from the fort, where we found nine Europeans, and were almost rendered speechless when they told us that they were all made Mussulmen against their inclinations, and that it was most probable we should share the same fate.

We now found ourselves in a miserable situation, as different parties from the guard that was over us were coming every hour of the day, sometimes making us great promises if we would consent to embrace their religion, and at others, with drawn swords, chaubacs* and ropes ready to tie us, and the barbers in the rear, ready to shave our heads ; this method they continued for seven or eight days, but, finding their threats and promises both ineffectual, they took another method to make us consent, by separating us from one another, and not allowing anybody to speak to us.

But, finding that this method had as little effect as the other, the Jemautdar took compassion on us, and wrote to Hyder in our behalf ; during the time they were waiting for an answer, we imagined they had dropped their infamous intentions, and daily expected to be sent to you ; it, however, proved to be but a dream, which was effectually broken, on the 17th, by the appearance of ten or twelve stout fellows with chaubacs, as many Caffres with ropes to tie us, &c. They made

* Whips.

no ceremony, but seized, tied us, and cut off our hair, and then walked away like villains that had been trained up to the business, and left us to lament our hard fate.

In three days,* the same villains made their appearance, seized and again tied us as before, and stood over us while they obliged us to eat a stuff that nearly deprived us of our senses,—in the same evening, they accomplished their vile design. During the time we were with them, we would take nothing but rice from them, nor would we permit them to take off our irons, which they offered to do, lest they should imagine that we were contented with our situation.

We now receive a fanam a day, and are obliged to drill a number of boys sent from the Carnatic for the same intentions, and kept in these squares,—thank God ! what they know will never harm the Company.

The French, although driven effectually off the coast, have unfortunately fallen in with two or three transports bound for the fleet, out of which, together with the crew of the Hannibal, taken off the Cape, they collected about five hundred men and officers, all of whom they scandalously delivered over to Hyder ; he has since picked out from amongst them fifty-one young men and boys, who are now in the fort and all of them Mussulmen,—among them are five midshipmen. It is not, however, we hope, to be doubted but that the French will suffer greatly in

* "Sept. 1. The same villains," &c.—*Copy in published Journal.*

the eyes of Europe for such unchristianlike behaviour.*

Wishing you all a speedy releasement, we remain,
Gentlemen,

Your unfortunate brother officers and friends,

JAMES SPEEDIMAN
and
RD. RUTLEDGE, } Lieutenants of
 } Artillery."†

" Gentlemen,

The 30th of June, the French sent all the prisoners ashore at Cuddalore, and scandalously delivered them into the hands of Hyder, and he marched us to Chillimbrum ; the 12th of August, after suffering the most cruel hardships, we were marched to Bangalore, and on the 22nd of October, they picked out fifty-one of the smallest of the men and officers, and sent us to Seringapatam, and on the 7th of November, they, by force, shaved our heads, and on the 10th, they made us Mussulmen. Since we have been here, they have given us nothing to sleep upon but old mats.

On the 7th, the town-major came to us, just before

* This paragraph does not appear in the printed journal.

† " Captain Rutledge, a very spirited and intelligent youth, was, by the latest accounts, in the command of a rossalla, or battalion, and in high favour."—*Memoirs of the War, &c.,* p. 236.

they shaved us, and told us that we never should be released, but kept here, and be considered as the Nabob's sons,—which makes us very unhappy, thinking that we shall never see our native country any more ; but, when you are exchanged, we hope you will make known our case to our fellow-subjects.

Mr. Austin would be glad to hear from you, if it is agreeable to you.—We have here, amongst the sufferers, Masters Lesage, Austin, and Drake, midshipmen of the Hannibal, of fifty guns,—the Chaser of eighteen guns, none of her officers here,—the Brother, transport, Mr. Wilkinson, midshipman,—the Resolution, transport, Mr. Heidiman, master's mate,—Company's ships, the Yarmouth and Fortitude, none of their officers here.—The number of men here are forty-four, of the above ships, and the rest are officers.”

These two letters once more rendered our minds completely miserable, and we could only lament the hard fate of these unfortunate men without being able to mitigate their sufferings ; indeed, we all of us now expected that in a very short time our fate would be the same, and all our miseries we considered as trifling when compared with the thoughts of being obliged to embrace the Mahometan religion, as it was a moral certainty that, if that event should take place, we should never be permitted to return to our own country.

November 29th.—This day* Colonel Baillie died in irons in his prison. He had been long ill, and had for many months been soliciting the Kellidar to allow a surgeon to give him some assistance ; but he declared that, as he had no orders from the Nabob to that purpose, he durst not send him one,—so that, if the Nabob had ordered him to be put to death, it would not have been so cruel as this infamous mode of treatment.

* According to the published Journal, Colonel Baillie died on the *thirteenth* of November.—He “ possessed great vigour both of body and mind, being of a middle stature, well and firmly made, and animated on all occasions with calm and steady resolution. . . As his merit and rank had rendered him an object of terror to the conqueror before he fell into his hands, so he became an object of barbarous resentment afterwards, and was treated accordingly, with unusual and marked severity. In the enemy's camp, he was separated from his fellow-prisoners, the Captains Rumley and Frazer, and thrown into irons even on his journey to Seringapatam from Arcot. On his arrival, on his way to the capital of Hyder, at Bangalore, five guns were fired in order to assemble the people to insult his misfortunes. And during the whole course of his illness, he received not the least comfort or assistance from the advice of any physician.”—P. 75.

CHAPTER V.

JANUARY, 1783.—Notwithstanding that we had been so long prisoners, and our hopes of release had been so often frustrated, we began this year with better spirits than the last, as we received information that our arms were still successful on the Malabar coast, and that our army was now advancing into the inland country ; whilst the Nairs and polygars that occupy the mountains and jungles near Seringapatam, thinking this a favourable opportunity to regain their former independence, whilst Hyder's force was employed against the English, moved out of their strong-hold, destroyed the open country, and committed as many acts of barbarity as Hyder's army had done in the Carnatic ; the garrison of Seringapatam was now thrown into the greatest consternation, and, as there were very few of the Nabob's regular troops in the place, the Kellidar sent two of the battalions against them of the Carnatic prisoners which had been embodied, and part of the new Mussulmen attached to them ; these, with some regular sepoys,

were attacked by the polygars, and totally cut to pieces, together with the unfortunate Europeans, who had expected that they would have been able, by the assistance of these very people, who were in part fighting the English cause, to have made their escape.

We, to our great satisfaction, were informed that Mabit Khan was amongst those that suffered upon this occasion.—The place was now thrown into the greatest consternation, as they were informed the polygars were advancing on, but their fears were soon silenced, and consequently our hopes crushed, when they were informed that the indefatigable Tippoo Saib had, even in the middle of the monsoon, left the Carnatic with a strong army, assisted by a body of French, and was in full pursuit of our army, which was now retreating before him back to the Malabar coast ;—there was now nothing but rejoicings, and they all said that in a very few days Tippoo would oblige them to capitulate in the same manner he had done Colonel Braithwaite's, the year before.

February 5th.—We this day observed an unusual commotion in the fort, and the inhabitants and sepoys crowding towards the durbar, as if something very extraordinary was going forward, whilst at the same time the looks of our guards exhibited astonishment ; this appearance was so uncommon, that we endeavoured all in our power to get the guard to explain the reason of it, but without effect, as they said it was as much as their life was worth if they told us, but that we should

soon know ; we were obliged, therefore, to wait with the greatest impatience, until we should be able to gain the information we wanted.

The next day, a sepoy, upon our promising secrecy, told us that information had arrived of the death of the Behauder, and that the Kellidar, and all the great people were in the greatest consternation ; this news gave us the greatest joy, but we were afraid to indulge it, as we often before this had reports of the same nature, but not so strong as this ; however, in the afternoon, we were pretty certain of the truth of it.

A body of troops arrived from Tippoo Saib's army upon the Malabar coast, and, upon entering the fort, proclaimed the death of Hyder Ali,—this body of men Tippoo Saib had immediately sent off upon hearing of the death of his father, under one of his favourite officers, well knowing that it was of the greatest consequence for him to get possession of the capital before the minds of the people had recovered from their first alarm ; he had reduced the English army upon the Malabar coast to the last extremity, but he was under the necessity of abandoning the pursuit, and set off with the greatest expedition to the Carnatic, as he well knew, until he had gained the command of the grand army, his situation was very precarious.

The Rajpoot, who had now been so long over us, and whom we had always found kind to us, was now sent away, and a guard, principally of Moormen, was substituted in the place of our former one.

We were now happy beyond measure at this great event, and concluded that, now the new Nabob was come to the government of a large country which the length of the war had thrown into confusion, and when it was likewise natural to expect that, from the nature of the government, even his own inhabitants would take this opportunity of again establishing the old Rajah's family —he would immediately conclude a peace with the English ;—and, at all events, even if this did not soon take place, we were convinced that Tippoo Saib, who had during the course of the war, upon many occasions, established as great a reputation for the humanity of his behaviour to the prisoners, as he had endeared himself by his bravery to his own troops, would certainly treat us in a more humane manner than we had for a long time experienced, and would make the severity of our imprisonment much lighter to us than his father had done ; the hopes that an order would come, to this purpose, gave us great satisfaction.

February 20th.—We were this day informed that Tippoo Saib had been universally proclaimed Hyder's successor at the grand army, and that not the smallest disturbance had taken place (as was expected) during his absence ; we were likewise told, that Tippoo had publicly declared that he was determined to prosecute the war against the English.

February 25th.—A new Kellidar arrived this day from the camp, with orders from the Nabob to supersede the old one and put him in prison, which was immediately

done; we were much concerned at the transaction, as he had always behaved to us in the kindest manner, and often lamented that the severity of his orders obliged him, against his inclination, to be harsh. The new Kellidar we found quite the reverse, and Tippoo's greatest favourite, although he had been originally in the low capacity of his cook.

March 4th.—Certain intelligence was now received that the English army, upon the departure of Tippoo, had again moved out from the post they had occupied, and, being reinforced with more troops, they had taken the greatest part of the Malabar coast; and that Hyat Saib, the Kellidar of Bednore, being afraid of Tippoo's resentment, who had been always his enemy, had delivered Bednore, and all the other strong-holds, into the hands of the English, who, having now no more enemies upon the coast, were advancing towards Seringapatam, and the polygars, who had some time before retreated back to their strongholds, had again moved out, and were plundering the open country. All these informations made the people (who are very superstitious) conclude that the new Nabob's power, as it had begun so unfortunately, would be but of short duration.

However, intelligence now arrived, that Tippoo was collecting the greatest part of his army in the Carnatic together, and, being stung with rage at the loss of so valuable a part of his country, denounced vengeance against the English army on the Malabar coast.

March 10th.—I had, about a month before this, found

that my disorder was gaining upon me so fast that I could with difficulty stand from my extreme weakness, and had made repeated attempts to be taken out of my irons, but without effect.—I, however, fell upon another experiment, and, with great perseverance, adopted so economical a method of living that, in the course of some weeks, I saved ten fanams out of my daily allowance, which I offered the commandant of our guard, provided he had interest sufficient to get me taken out of irons,—which he accomplished for the sum I had promised him.

I, however, enjoyed my good fortune but a few days, as the Kellidar, upon seeing me out of chains, abused the guard, and ordered them to confine me immediately, although he was told that I was taken out by the approbation of the last Kellidar, as I was extremely ill. This releasement was rather of hurt to me, as I was so unfortunate as to have a heavier pair of irons put upon me than my former ones. This circumstance made us change our ideas of the alteration that we expected to experience for the better in our treatment.

April 15th.—Tippoo Saib, with a very strong army, had now arrived within six miles of this place, and with a very considerable body of French troops. Tippoo, to shew an example to his army, would not come into the capital, though he was so near it and had now been absent more than three years, and after receiving what guns, stores, &c., he could procure, he pursued his route to Bednore, and even publicly declared that in six

weeks he would be master of the place ; and the sepoys upon our guard told us, that he was determined never to allow any of the principal prisoners that he took in his own country to return, but that we, who were taken in the Carnatic, would be released upon the event of a peace.

April 17th.—This day Lieutenant Sampson, who had commanded a regiment in Colonel Braithwaite's army in the Tanjore country, was taken out of our prison, although he was very ill, and, together with the two officers that remained in the prison that Colonel Baillie had died in, was sent to the fort of Mysore, ten miles distant from this place. We endeavoured to get the reason of this, but were told by the sepoys that it was [by] the orders of the Nabob.*

* On February the 26th, according to the published journal. The other two officers were Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.—“Poor Sampson was exceedingly ill of an ague at the time he left us. We made up a small sum of forty gold fanams for him : strange are the conjectures concerning the fate of these three gentlemen.”—*Published Journal. Memoirs, &c., p. 111.*

—“Although the behaviour of all the English officers in this unfortunate affair,” (Colonel Braithwaite’s defeat,) “was highly creditable to the national character, one coincidence is too remarkable to be overlooked. Lieutenant Sampson, who commanded the little corps of cavalry with Colonel Braithwaite, had so peculiarly distinguished himself, as to cause his name to be united by the enemy with that of his chief; and to this day the Mysoreans, in narrating the campaign of Tanjore, continue thus to associate the name of this gallant young man, *Braithwaite Sampson*, as if it were one name.”—*Wilks, ii., 362.*

This same day, Colonel Braithwaite, who had always remained prisoner in Hyder's camp, arrived here, and he was confined with another officer in a large dark house, in part of which the Nabob always kept his wild beasts.*

* He arrived on the 25th January, according to the published journal, in company with Ensign Holmes, but "not in irons.—Arrived at the same time Captain Leach; he is confined in a different prison, with the daily allowance of six cash and one seer of rice."—I extract a few subsequent entries from this journal, to shew the generous interest the prisoners always took in alleviating the sufferings of their brethren in affliction. . . "March 1. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite; he and Ensign Holmes are allowed one fanam per day each. Colonel B. having represented to us their miserable situation, we raised by public subscription seventy gold fanams, and have desired the Colonel to convey, if possible, part of the above sum to Captain Leach, who, we understand, is starving on six cash per day: this unfortunate man was taken at Puddelotah, thirty miles from Trichinopoly, and is now confined along with two sergeants and three subadars. . . March 14. Sent Colonel Braithwaite thirty-four fanams, which we raised with the utmost difficulty. . . March 25. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, wherein he informs us that he has only received sixty fanams. A Verduvalla who was over the colonel at this time, attended our prison, on account of his indisposition; consequently we thought this a favourable opportunity to remit the money, and accordingly entrusted him; but found, to our sorrow, that he kept forty fanams and two letters.—April 1. Colonel B. having pointed out a channel of corresponding with Tanjore, and wishing to have fifty fanams transmitted to him for that purpose, we have raised that sum by subscription and sent it him, together with a list of our names, in order that they may be forwarded to our friends. . . May 16. The whole of us have subscribed half a fanam each per month to Captain Leach, which puts him

June 5.—We had now for some time waited with the greatest anxiety to know what would be the fate of Bednore, and we had been kept in continual suspense by the reports, one day of its being taken, and another day that the Nabob had been obliged to raise the siege; but, on this day, our expectations were once more frustrated, upon our hearing a salute from the capital of the place and the greatest rejoicings at Seringapatam at this event; the sanguine hopes that we had for some months entertained, that the great success of our arms would soon produce a peace, were now fallen to the ground.

We were all once more sunk into the deepest despair from our complicated misfortunes, and we now began to

on a level with us, as we understand he is in a most wretched situation. . . Oct. 22. We have made four shirts and four trowsers for Captain Leach, and have sent them by the washerman, together with twenty-four fanams. The fanams are put or worked into the buttons of the shirt, which we have contrived to deceive the washerman. . . 18th Nov. The colonel's and Ensign Holmes's allowance reduced to nine dubs and two cash each per day, and Captain Leach and the sergeant are raised to ten cash each. The colonel daily sends Captain Leach a six cash breakfast."

A touching memorandum occurs in this journal, under the date of Nov. 15. "Colonel Braithwaite passed our prison on his return from the Kellidar. He was well dressed, and under charge of one havildar and twelve sepoys, with fixed bayonets. Several of us were so rejoiced at seeing him, that they forgot their situation, and called out to him by name through holes they had bored through the wall of the prison. The colonel was astonished, and some of the prisoners disapproved of this conduct of their companions. But their emotions were so lively, that they could not be restrained."

feel the misery of our situation in a more severe manner than ever ; for Tippoo, as if he had only waited for this last event to shew himself in his natural colours, ordered that our allowance, which was even hardly sufficient to procure us the common necessaries of life, should be now considerably decreased ; and our servants, who had always been permitted to go to the bazar to lay out our money, were now prevented from going, and we were obliged to give our little pittance to the guard to lay out for us, who defrauded us of nearly one half of it.

These were cruel hardships for a set of men to experience, who had now been three years lying in a jail. I had always been so fortunate as to keep up my spirits until now, but my disorder, which had been preying upon my constitution for near two years, had now reduced me to a skeleton, and, deprived of all medical assistance, I had no hopes of preserving my life but by a speedy deliverance, which now seemed at a greater distance than ever.

June 20th.—This day, General Mathews, who had commanded the army upon the Malabar coast, was brought in, a prisoner, to Seringapatam,* escorted by a large body of horse ; he passed our prison in a palanquin, in his regimentals, and had all his baggage and

* General Mathews, according to the published Journal, arrived on the 27th May, and on the 20th June the letter was received from him, of which Mr. Lindsay gives a copy—very different however, from the printed one, for which see “ Memoirs,” &c., p. 115.

servants with him, in as high a style as if he was still his own master. This sight gave us great satisfaction, as we had imagined that Tippoo would have made his treatment much severer. He was now put into a large house in a retired part of the fort, with everything that he had brought with him ; but, a few days after his arrival, the Kellidar went to his prison, and took away from him all his baggage, money, servants, and even stripped him of the clothes he had upon his back, after which he had some old ones given to him ; he was then put into irons, and a measure of bad rice was delivered to him for his daily subsistence.

These transactions, which we were told by some of the guards, made us extremely anxious to hear from him the particulars of his misfortunes, and, by the assistance of a bribe given to one of our guard, we sent a line to him, and he answered it as follows :—

“ Gentlemen,

I have just had the pleasure of receiving your note, which I have long been anxious for.

I was Brigadier General upon the Malabar coast, which I conquered in a very short space of time, but, having weakened my army by garrisoning the great number of forts that were taken, and not having received the smallest support from the Bombay presidency, I was obliged with the remainder to shut myself up in the garrison of Bednore, and from the want of intelligence, Tippoo appeared in front of the place before I could make the

necessary preparations. It is an old fort, with a bad wall and no ditch. I, however, held out for three weeks, and I then made a capitulation with him, to be sent with my garrison to Bombay upon our parole; however, he has shamefully broke it.

I am extremely concerned at your miserable situation; had I known it before, I never would have been a prisoner. In my present circumstances, I must entreat no further correspondence.

Tippoo has now gone to the sea-side to besiege Mangalore, which is a good fort; it has an excellent garrison, and, I hope, will be able to hold out.—Should anything happen to affect my life, I request that you will let my executors know that the Company owe me forty thousand rupees, which I advanced for the use of the army on the Malabar coast.

I am yours truly,

[RICHARD] MATHEWS.

P. S. The principal officers of my army were picked out from the rest, and sent to a fort called Kavel Drook."

July 4th.—Our minds were now for a considerable time totally engrossed about the fate of Mangalore, and, from the various accounts of the sepoyes, we had reason to think that Tippoo had found it a more difficult undertaking than he had expected; but this place was now

thrown into the greatest confusion by the ravages of another English army that had penetrated into his country from the quarter of Trichinopoly, and, as there was no enemy of any consequence to resist them, they had reduced most of the southern part of the Nabob's country, and the inhabitants of this place were even apprehensive that they would make an attempt here, as Tippoo was so intently occupied with Mangalore,—this idea even made the sepoys upon our guard change their conduct towards us, and, while this supposition lasted, they were extremely kind to us.

September 6th.—Ever since the capture of General Mathews and his army, we had entertained the most desponding thoughts, as Tippoo had now every reason to expect that he soon would regain the entire possession of his country upon the Malabar coast, and then be able to return with redoubled vigour to renew the war in the Carnatic; but some people at the garrison, who had always paid us some attention when they could do it unseen, had a few days before this been informing our servants that our deliverance was now near at hand, and the Nabob would soon receive an unexpected blow.

This information even from our friends gave us but little satisfaction, as we had so often been deceived before; we had long ceased paying any attention to the reports of the Nabob, but we now began to think that some extraordinary event had taken place, as we perceived, from the door of our jail, vast multitudes of people running about with their swords drawn, and a num-

ber of prisoners, whilst at the same time the looks of our guard exhibited terror and confusion. We remained in the greatest suspense until the next Monday, when we were told in confidence by one of the guard who had shewn himself our friend, that a deep conspiracy had been formed by most of the principal Gentoos of the fort, to seize the present opportunity of the few regular troops that were in the garrison, to surprise the place, and restore the old Gentoo government. To accomplish this great event, the conspirators had prepared a large body of polygars, that inhabit the neighbouring hills, to be in readiness to march to the capital with the greatest expedition, and, while one part of the conspirators were putting the principal Mahometans of the place to death, and seizing the Nabob's family, another was to let loose the numerous body of prisoners that were confined in the various jails, upon whose support the severities of their confinement, and the uncommon hardships they had undergone, naturally caused them to put the greatest reliance.

The conspirators had now for the space of a month been preparing this bold undertaking with the utmost secrecy, and not the least apprehension was entertained of its failing, as every thing was prepared, and at twelve at night the surprise was to take place ; but, a few hours before, one of the conspirators, either from the hopes of greater reward, or urged by his fears, went to the Kellidár and revealed to him the whole transaction, and, as the conspirators were then in consultation at one of their

houses, he directed the Kellidar to the place, who, repairing thither with a strong guard, secured them all with ease, and then, ordering the whole garrison under arms, he placed a double guard upon the Rajah's palace, as well as over the different prisons, and in the morning, sensible of his weak condition and in order to strike terror into the place, he put eight of the principal conspirators to death,—which was done by dragging them at elephants' feet three times under the wall of the fort, and an equal number of times before the doors of the different prisons.*

The Kellidar, however, remained in the greatest consternation, although he had immediately despatched information to Tippoo, but, as the English army, that had moved out from the Trichinopoly district, had subdued the whole of the adjacent country, and were now proceeding without molestation, he was in the greatest apprehension that the place would fall to them before he could gain a reinforcement from the Malabar coast, as it was more than double the distance.

September 20th.—Ever since the discovery of the conspiracy, we had been treated in a much kinder manner than we had ever before experienced, and many little indulgences were granted us that we before had been strangers to,—all which kindnesses we justly at-

* See Colonel Wilks's Hist., ii. pp. 496 sqq.—According to the published Journal, the prisoners first heard of this conspiracy being discovered, on July 24, 1783.

tributed to the alarm which an English army being so near the capital excited :—this hope we had, with the most eager expectation, enjoyed from day to day, and really expected soon to be masters in the very place which we had reason to abhor ; but salutes and rejoicings of every kind were diffused throughout the garrison upon the arrival of a large reinforcement of cavalry and infantry, which Tippoo had immediately despatched from the Malabar coast upon hearing of the late events, and the most positive orders from the Nabob were immediately put into execution, to put to death every person that was in the smallest degree suspected of having been engaged in the late conspiracy, and, likewise, to double the guard over the prisons,—so that we were not only daily spectators of the tortures that were inflicted upon numerous miserable wretches before the door of our prison, but experienced the hardest usage upon all occasions from our guard, and were defrauded out of so much of our daily pittance that it was scarcely sufficient to support existence.

My state of health was now become so very weak and languid from the long continuance of my disorder, that I had long viewed every event, that had or was likely to befal us, with indifference, from the thorough conviction that the blessings of freedom would not be experienced by me.

October 9th.—We had now been wishing for some time that we could hear again from Mathews, and had collected a trifle from each to convey to him, knowing

the great reverse of treatment that had been inflicted upon him; but we were this day told by some of the guard, with the greatest coolness, that, as there had been such great disturbances in the place, the Nabob had declared that he could not be at perfect ease while so great an officer as Mathews was in it, and that he had some days before this had poison mixed with his provisions, and had died from the effects of it this morning.

This information was sufficient to alarm us. As we had always contrived to keep up a correspondence with the few private men that were kept in the fort, they sent us word that one of them who, having learnt the Moorish language, had upon many occasions been sent for to act as an interpreter to the Kellidar, a day or two ago had received some writings from the general, written upon a tile, and being ordered to explain the purport of it, informed the Kellidar that the general had the greatest reason to suspect that poison had been given to him in his rice, and desired to know if it was by the Nabob's orders that he was to be so cruelly deprived of his life.

The soldier, having interpreted this to the Kellidar, was abused in the grossest manner, and ordered to receive a flogging for misinterpreting the writing, and to be sent back to his prison.—This information, and what we had before heard, left the matter beyond a doubt, and excited in our breasts the utmost horror for the extraordinary fate of this unfortunate man, and the most dreadful apprehensions that ours would be simi-

lar.* These suspicions struck us with more force, as Tippoo Saib, during his father's life-time, had on various occasions taken considerable pains to express his regret

* The author of the published Journal dates the first intimation of this murder on the 8th *September*,—the day after the general's death, which he describes as follows:—"The general, when he learnt, from a combination of suspicious circumstances, as well as hints let fall from those that were occasionally about his person, that it was the sultan's intention to cut him off by poison, refused to taste of the victuals that were sent to him at stated times from the Kellidar's. Some of the guards, and even the servants who carried the poisoned victuals, took compassion on the general, and gave him now and then a little of theirs. The havildar, who had the charge of the general, connived at these acts of humanity at first, and manifested symptoms of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the part assigned to him in the scene going forward. But this officer, when it was found that General Mathews still protracted his miserable existence, was sent for by the Kellidar, who told him that the general's life, if much longer continued, must be paid for by the havildar's death. Upon this the havildar communicated his orders, with the threats that accompanied them, to his unfortunate prisoner, who now had no other alternative than that of perishing by famine or by poison. The anxious love of life maintained, for several days, a struggle with the importunate calls of furious hunger. These, however, prevailed in the issue of the contest. He eat of poisoned food, and he drank too, whether to quench the rage of inflamed thirst, or to drown the torments of his soul in utter insensibility, of the poisoned cup. Within six hours after this fatal repast, he was found dead. . . The manner in which these particulars were brought to light was this:—the death of the general being reported to the Kellidar, it was mentioned, on that occasion, that a brass bason was found in his prison, with some writing on it; which must have been done with a fork he had with him. This was brought to the Kellidar, and read and interpreted by an European who had engaged in the sultan's service."—*Memoirs, &c., p. 125.*

at the hardships of our fate, with hints that he had done everything in his power with his father to alleviate our sufferings.

The real meaning of this speech being so clearly explained by the late event, we could not help acknowledging what many persons in Hyder's service had at various times told us,—that we were in a perfect error regarding the characters of the father and the son ; that Hyder Ali was a brave generous man, often cruel from necessity, but never from choice, and that, with regard to us, he had given the most positive orders that we should be treated with all respect and kindness, but guarded in such a manner as would totally preclude us from carrying on any correspondence with his enemies, who were numerous and active in their hostilities to his government.

The idea of releasing officers on their parole, or attaching them by kindness, never entered into the compass of his understanding, and, as he had risen from the station of a common horseman, by the effect of generosity and bravery, to the distinguished station of general of the Mysore army, and afterwards, by treachery and murder, had usurped the Mysore government, he could only hope to maintain his power by a vigilant and severe administration.

As a soldier, he was respected throughout Hindostan, and in his army he was as much beloved as he was feared by all his officers, many of whom he had raised from the lowest stations from his personal knowledge of their individual merits ; this sentiment inspired his whole army

with emulation and zeal in his service, well knowing that his punishments were as tremendous to them that merited his displeasure as his bounty was magnificent to those who served him well.

The character of Tippoo Saib was not generally known in Hyder's army, but those who pretended to know any thing of him, said he was the best Mussulman in the whole army,—little, at that time, did we understand the full extent of that sentiment.

Hyder, although illiterate himself, had entrusted the education of his son to some learned fakeers about his court,—a set of men, who, while they possessed little learning, by every species of mortification and self-denial had acquired the reputation of true Mussulmen, yet were little capable of superintending the education of a prince who was to assume the government of a great empire. Under the care of these fakeers and the eye of his father, Tippoo became an expert soldier, and in the management of the horse, the bow, the lance, or the musket, shone preeminent,—he was also an excellent scholar, and, even though inured to war from his infancy, reputed a good poet; but he was privately known to be cruel, and his education had implanted in his mind, as a grand and predominant sentiment, the most furious and determined zeal and devotion to the Mahometan religion.

He was a bigot and a fanatic of the cruelest caste; he had art, however, to conceal his sentiments during the life of his father, and he was respected in the army as an excellent and indefatigable soldier, and an atten-

tive observer of the duties of his religion. His accession to the command took place without any [of the] commotions or intrigues usual in Indian armies, and he had the wisdom to let most of Hyder's experienced generals continue in their stations, although it afterwards appeared that he had marked many of them for death or disgrace, as he was known to have said that he would purge his army of the blackguard half-kind of Mussulmen that his father had encouraged, and new-model it by employing none but the most bigoted Mussulmen. He was resolved to establish his empire over all Hindostan by the united terrors of the Koran and the sword.

These sentiments were, very soon after the death of his father, discovered by his conduct, and we were frequently told by our guards that we were to be made happy by being received into the bowels of the true believers. The death of Hyder seemed to be but a prelude to farther misfortunes ; the circumstance of the murder of General Mathews opened our eyes, and from that hour there were several of us that thought our own fate was not far distant.

CHAPTER VI.

DECEMBER 1st.—A considerable part of our guard was this day relieved, and a Moorman of rank and dignified manners took the command. One of the former guard, who had been extremely civil to us, at taking leave, desired us to be extremely cautious, and to avoid all correspondence with any of the other prisoners, and, if we had any papers or articles of value in our possession, to destroy or bury them under ground ; we all felt that his advice was dictated by the sincerest feelings of friendship, and that in future it behoved us to be very circumspect in our conduct ; indeed the manners of this friendly man convinced us that he thought our situation very deplorable.

A general destruction of all loose papers, and every thing that could tend to create suspicion of our corresponding with other prisoners, now took place, and in the evening our new commander, in ordering us to be turned out to be mustered, desired the guard to search throughout the prison to discover if we had any con-

cealed papers, and not finding any, he advised us to be cautious that we did not carry on any correspondence with any prisoners out of our prison.

A few days after this event, one of the sepoys on the guard informed one of the prisoners that, as he had formerly been in the English service, and had experienced the best of treatment, he would reveal to him a secret respecting the officers of Mathews' army that had been sent to Kavel Drook. He said that these prisoners, consisting of sixteen captains, a major, and the commissary-general of the army, had, immediately on their arrival at that place, been put in irons, and that their allowance of provisions was the same as ours,—that their treatment in other respects had been harder, and that, the day before this, he had belonged to a guard that had been sent from another garrison to relieve the one that was over these prisoners,—that on the second day of the new guard's being there, the commandant of it put himself in the evening at the head of most of the troops in the place, and repaired to the prison, attended by some persons who held in their hands bowls of green liquid,—the prisoners were ordered to advance two by two, and the commander informed them that it was the Nabob's orders that they should drink the liquor contained in these bowls,—the prisoners seemed to be astonished and refused to comply with the orders, and requested leave to consult with one another, which was allowed,—the result was, that, although they had committed no crime against Tippoo Sultan, they nevertheless feared that it was his intention

to take their lives, and declared that they would not take the drink.

The commandant informed them at once, that the drink offered to them was poison,—that it was the Nabob's orders,—that it was, he assured them, a pleasant, easy death, but that, if they persisted in refusing it, they were to be seized and tied, and thrown alive down the precipice of Kavel Drook mountain ; he declared that he was strictly to perform his orders, again recommended the drink, and allowed them an hour to determine. When the time had expired, they advanced to the commandant, and informed him they were ready to drink the poison, but they did not doubt but that the day would arrive when Tippoo Sultan would meet the just reward of his inhuman cruelty exercised so wantonly on a set of innocent men. They then drank the poison, which operated with violence upon some—but, in the space of one hour, the bodies of all were extended lifeless before the commandant, and as there was no further occasion for so great a force in Kavel Drook, he (our informant), with some others, had been sent to reinforce the guard over us.

He then took from his waist two papers, which, he said, he had taken from one of the officers when he lay dead, and which appeared to have been written by Captain Richardson, an officer on the Bombay establishment, and one of the unfortunate sufferers on this occasion.

In a few days, this account was privately confirmed to us by the friendly sepoy, and from various other quar-

ters, with little deviation from the original report.* It would be difficult to describe the sensation it left on our minds, [unless it be] considered that many of us had been prisoners between three and four years, and that, miserable and cruel as our treatment had been, we cheered our spirits with the hope that our sufferings would one day be at an end, and that we should again be restored to liberty and our friends. The information we now had received threw from henceforth a gloom upon the countenance of every one, and the miserable uncertainty as to the period our lives might be spared,

* See the published Journal, "Memoirs," &c., pp. 156, 159, 182.— "Two sepoy's, who are at present attached to our guard, have given us the melancholy accounts af our brother-sufferers at Kavel Drook. They say that the Kellidar of Kavel Drook received orders from the Behauder to despatch the whole of them by poison; that the Kellidar made no secret, but explained his orders, and observed that, unless they were instantly put into execution, his own life would pay for his disobedience. The first he called positively refused to taste the poison. The Kellidar instantly ordered several Caffres to seize and tie him up to a tamarind tree. After being most severely flogged, he at last consented to drink the finishing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated, on account of their opposition. The sepoy's observed that the scenes of distress, after the poison began to operate, were beyond de-scription,—some being perfectly insensible, others thrown into violent convulsions, and others employing the few moments they had to live in committing themselves to God, and in embracing and taking a last farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were despatched, the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tigers."

with the conviction that, sooner or later, we should be put to death in the same cruel manner, made many of us wish for a speedy termination of our miseries.

We now learnt that Tippoo, after the capture of Mathews in Bednore, had once more reduced nearly the whole of the Malabar coast, excepting the two important forts on the sea-coast, Onore and Bangalore, both of which he had invested.

The siege of Mangalore he conducted in person, and as the flower of his army was employed on this occasion, and the place had now been besieged seven weeks, it created much surprise at Seringapatam that it still held out, and as a formidable English army, commanded by Colonel Fullerton, had now reduced the whole of the Coimbatore country, and was actually advancing towards Seringapatam, Tippoo had no alternative, but either to raise the siege of Mangalore, or to push it with redoubled vigour.

The very powerful army he had before the place induced him to think the reduction of the garrison would immediately take place, and he felt his pride and honour as a general interested on the occasion. We now learnt from very good authority that the place was defended by a very strong garrison, and commanded by a very gallant and able officer, Major Campbell, who declared that, as long as one day's provision remained in the garrison, or a round of ammunition, he would not surrender the place to a person who had so infamously

broken his capitulation with Mathews, and afterwards in cool blood murdered him.*

Many of the guard, while they revealed to us these particulars, informed us that Tippoo only waited for the reduction of Mangalore to turn his arms against the English in other quarters, and that it was his determination to wrest the whole of our possessions from us ; they could not, however, refrain from expressing their astonishment and admiration at the noble defence of Mangalore, and said that Tippoo had actually lost the good opinion of his army in various assaults. They further declared that Tippoo during the siege had given repeated orders to put the remainder of his prisoners to death, and had again countenanced them, as it appeared the tide of success was now turning against him ; and in the unparalleled defence of Mangalore he was taught to reflect that the issue of the war might turn out more disastrous to him than he imagined.

We were informed also at this period that commissioners had actually arrived in the sultan's camp with proposals for peace, which his bad success at Mangalore rendered it probable he would listen to.

This information was, however, so mixed with hardship and ill-usage, that we could place but little confidence in what we heard, and it was the general opinion

* For the memorable defence of Mangalore, see the " Memoirs of the War in Asia," pp. 440 sqq. ; and for that of Onore, under the gallant Captain Torriano, Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, iv. pp. 111 sqq.

that the sultan would either order us to be put to death from resentment at his bad success, or from some other cause, not to be accounted for in any other manner than the natural cruelty of his disposition and his abhorrence of christians.

We were informed at this time* that Captains Rumley, Sampson, and Frazer had been put to death by order from Tippoo, in the fort of Mysore; and they even informed us that Captain Rumley, after the other two had drank the poison, stepped forward to the guard, wrested the sword of the commander from him and killed him and two of his attendants on the spot, and was by the remainder immediately cut to pieces. We could not account for his having particularised these three unfortunate men at this period, but it recalled to our remembrance that, some months before, they had been sent to this retired place, and that their murder had at that time been resolved upon.

We now concluded that our fate would be similar to that of our unfortunate brother-officers, and many began to view the event with gloomy indifference, while others, feeling the utmost indignation at such unparalleled barbarity, determined to sell their lives in the same manner the gallant Rumley had done.

At this period some of the officers having hinted that they had formed a plan to escape out of the prison, and from thence to scale the walls of the fort, in the hopes

* 3 October, 1783. Journal, in "Memoirs," &c., p. 155.

of gaining the neighbouring hills, a general alarm for the consequence pervaded the prison, and, the general opinion being taken on the occasion, it was declared that the endeavour of any to escape would be considered dastardly and infamous, as it would involve the whole in certain death, and that, if it was our fate to perish by the orders of this unprincipled barbarian, we would commit no action that could give him cause to justify such villainy to the world.*

I am, however, of opinion, that no individual of our jail ever had any serious idea of looking to his own safety at the expense of his unfortunate comrades, and it must be confessed that, although the cruel treatment we had experienced, and the extraordinary length of our confinement, had soured the temper of many, and despair was depicted on every countenance, a general sentiment of friendship and regard was felt for one another throughout the prison. Our guard had for some time past been strictly enjoined to carry on no conversation with us, and they did their duty with gloomy severity.

In the afternoon, † two Brahmins, accompanied by a

* The published Journal gives a different account:—“ March 2, 1784. In consequence of yesterday’s information, relative to our being sent to Kavel Drook, the whole of us have seriously and unanimously determined to avail ourselves of the first opportunity to make our escape, by murdering the whole of our guards, and selling every drop of blood as dear as possible; being thoroughly convinced that if we submit tamely, we shall, on our arrival at Kavel Drook, be despatched in the same manner as General Mathews’ officers.”—P. 184.

† Of the 22d March, 1784.—*Published Journal.*

Moorman of rank, came to the door of our prison, and calling out my name and two other officers', desired us to come forward, and then the Brahmins said they had orders to take us out of prison and to conduct us to the governor. I immediately declared that, having been confined in this dungeon upwards of three years and a half in heavy chains, and with my body reduced to a perfect skeleton by long sickness, I was resolved not to separate myself from my fellow-prisoners, and that if I was to suffer death, it should be on the same spot where I had experienced so much misery.

They declared that there was no intention of using me ill, and that, in accompanying them, I should be made happy by great and important news. I resolutely refused to leave the prison, on which the Moorman, who had remained silent, said with a smile, "You have all suffered enough, and I come to impart joy to you all; the merciful Nabob, my master, Tippoo Sultan, has restored peace to the world; the English nation and he are now friends; you are immediately to be taken out of irons, and to-morrow you are to leave Seringapatam and to march for your own country. I see, sir," said he to me, "you are alarmed—you were sent for to receive a sum of money and a letter from your friends; you shall immediately receive both, after which I dare say you will no longer refuse leaving the prison." The letter and money were brought and delivered, and were from a friend with the army who took the earliest opportunity of administering to my necessities.

He stated that Tippoo Saib, not being able to reduce the fortress of Mangalore, having lost the flower of his army before that place, and finding that the English had reinforced themselves in other quarters, and were advancing into his country, had at last declared that he would listen to proposals of peace,—that commissioners had been sent to him, and, after many difficulties, peace had been concluded,—that each was to retain what they had before the war, and all prisoners to be released.

This letter instantly removed all doubts, and the sudden transition from misery to joy at so wonderful and unexpected an event was felt with the most heartfelt satisfaction throughout the prison, and even the guard seemed to partake in the general rejoicing.

The governor appeared after the information, accompanied by a number of blacksmiths, who in two or three hours emancipated the limbs of every one from the cumbersome load of iron that had been our constant companions for so many years.*

* The following more detailed account of the circumstances of their release is given in the published Journal so often quoted.

" March 22, 1784. Ten o'clock, [A.] M. Visited by the Myar and a Brahmin, who ordered Captains Baird, Menteith, and Lindsay's irons to be knocked off. These gentlemen were removed from our prison, under the charge of one havildar and two sepoys.

" Three o'clock, P. M.—The havildar returns and acquaints us that the three gentlemen are at present with Colonel Braithwaite; that they were removed to him in consequence of peace; and that we should, in all probability, have our irons knocked off in the course of a day or two, and be sent to Madras. Little credit is given by us to this piece of in-

formation, having been so frequently disappointed before; and we are very uneasy, and very apprehensive that they intend very unfair means with Colonel Braithwaite and indeed the whole of us, as reports have been current for many days that Tippoo Saib intends murdering the whole of the European prisoners.

"While we were in this gloomy state of mind, and ready to sink under the pressure of melancholy and black despair, behold within the walls of our dismal dungeon, a Brahmin sent from Tippoo Sultan, with a formal intimation of the final conclusion of peace! and that our irons were to be knocked off the next day.—The emotions that sprung up in our breasts on receiving this intelligence were so strong and lively, and raised to such a point of elevation and excess, as almost bordered on pain!—We gave vent to the ardour of our minds in the loudest as well as most irregular and extravagant expressions of congratulation.—The whole prison resounded with the frantic voice of sudden as well as excessive joy and exultation. This tumult having in some degree subsided, though we were incapable of entire composure and rest, a proposal was made, and most readily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our possession, without the least regard to equal shares or proportions, and to celebrate the joyful news of our approaching deliverance with some plantain-fritters and sherbet,—the only articles of luxury we could then command, on account of our extreme poverty. By nine o'clock at night supper was announced, consisting of sixty dozen of plantains, and a large chatty of sherbet. Every one being seated on the ground, the repast was received with the utmost content and satisfaction. Friends and toasts were drank as long as our chatty stood out; and such was the agitation of our minds, that there was not one of us who felt the least inclination, or, indeed, who possessed the power to compose himself for sleep.

"We now waited with the utmost impatience for the return of day, and were impressed with a strong desire that our irons might be knocked off immediately; but, to our great mortification, about seven in the morning, there arrived only one armourer. Every one struggled to have his fetters knocked off first. Promises, threats, bustling, and jos-

tling—every expedient that could be imagined was put in practice, in order to obtain that which would come unsought for in the course of a few minutes, or hours at furthest. The same men who had suffered the rigours of imprisonment and the menaces of a barbarous policy, with invincible resolution and patience, as well as with mutual sympathy and complaisance, for years, were so transported at the near prospect of liberty, that the delay of a few moments seemed now to be more insupportable than even the tedious languor of our long, most alarming, and anxious confinement.

" Between two and three in the afternoon, our irons were all knocked off, and then we were conducted, under the charge of a guard, to the Kellidar. In crossing the parade to Hyder's palace, several European boys in the Mahomedan dress, who had been forcibly circumcised, came near to us, imploring our assistance in a most distressful manner. The only consolation we could give them was, to assure them that, whenever we arrived at Madras, their melancholy situation should be faithfully and feelingly described to the governor, in order to procure their enlargement.^a

" We were now brought before the Kellidar, who was lodged in Hyder's palace, and sat in a veranda, surrounded by his guards. Our names being taken down, with our rank and other circumstances, we were conducted to Colonel Braithwaite's prison, where we found the

^a "When Baird," says his biographer, "and his companions were conducted to the Kellidar, there was a considerable crowd gathered round the Cutcherry, or court-house, amongst whom were several of the poor lads who had been compelled to become Mussulmans, and to take service in Tippoo's army. The moment they saw Captain Baird, and comprehended the object of his being brought thither, they ran to him, and entreated, on their knees, that they might not be exempted from the general liberation, and left behind; and when the Kellidar, addressing Captain Baird, told him that, in consequence of the conclusion of peace, he was free! Captain Baird said, 'I hope that ALL the British are to be included?'—'All!' replied the Kellidar, 'not so much as a dog shall be left behind.'—'Then,' said Captain Baird, taking hold of one of the English boys in the Mussulman dress, 'I claim these;' upon which the Kellidar, treacherous to the last, made a sign to the guard, who instantly surrounded the boys, and drove them away. They were seen no more."

Colonel, Captains Baird, Lindsay.^a Menteith, and Ensign Holmes. Here we remained several hours, and were in a most friendly manner supplied by these gentlemen with money, which gave us an opportunity of rewarding those good men who had at different times been on our guard.

"Towards the close of the evening, after the soldiers and black prisoners were collected, we moved off from the fort to Soomner-Pettah, a village distant about two miles. On our arrival at the choultry of this place, we had an opportunity of conversing with our soldiers. Their marks of affection, respect, and joy, at meeting with their officers after so long a separation, were not less sincere than extravagant.—The sight of the country, the fair face of nature, in a rich and delicious climate, from which we had been so long excluded, excited in our minds the most various and pleasing emotions, and struck us all with the force of novelty. At the same time, it may not be thought unimportant to observe, that we had lost, in some degree, that intuitive discernment of the magnitude and relations of objects, which is the effect of experience, habit, and the association of ideas.—At Soomner-Pettah, we were indulged with permission to walk about in the bazaar, and to bathe in the river, a most delicious as well as salutary refreshment. Every object and every recreation became now a source of exquisite satisfaction and delight; all that satiety and indifference to the bounty of nature, which arises from undisturbed possession, and perhaps still more from vicious habits, being effectually overcome and destroyed by the painful purification of months added to months, in a succession that threatened to terminate either in perpetual slavery or death," &c. &c.

^a He had been promoted to a company during his imprisonment.



PRISON EXPENSES IN SERINGAPATAM.

EXPENSES OF FITTING UP A PRISONER NEWLY ARRIVED
AT SERINGAPATAM.*

	F.	D.	C.
One piece of coarse cloth, which makes two shirts.....	4	5	0
Chintz for one jacket.....	2	0	0
Lining for ditto	1	0	0
Moorman's slippers.....	1	3	0
Leather and tape for galligaskins †	0	3	0
Beggarman's quilt, of old rags ‡	1	0	0
Mat to sleep on	0	3	0
Straw for pillows	0	1	0
Basket for clothes	0	5	0
An earthen chatty to eat off	0	0	2
One earthen bason, two goglets	0	3	0
A china or wooden spoon	0	2	0
Half-piece of dungeree, for pillow-cases, towels, &c.	1	6	3
A long drawer string.....	0	1	0
A wooden comb.....	0	0	2
Jaggary pot (molasses)	0	0	1
Broom.....	0	0	1
Lamp	0	0	0½
Tape to queue hair.....	0	1	0
	13	2	0½

* The prices are in fanams, dubs, and cash. The gold fanam was worth five pence sterling, and changed for eleven dubs and four cash.

† The galligaskins are made of leather, and worn under the irons to preserve the skin.

‡ A beggarman's quilt was a garment made of rags, collected from all hands, and of all colours, washed and sewed together. It was warm and comfortable, though an object of laughter.

ARTICLES OF LUXURY, ONLY TO BE OBTAINED BY THE OPULENT AFTER A
LENGTH OF SAVING.

	F.	D.	C.
One common knife.....	1	0	0
One pen ditto.....	0	9	0
One comley, as a covering.....	4	6	0
Bamboos and ropes for a cot.....	1	2	0
Bamboos for a stool	0	8	0
Paper per sheet	0	1	2
Reeds for pens, each	0	0	1
Sweetmeats, per stick	0	0	1
Six plantains	0	1	0
Six limes.....	0	1	0
Four oranges	0	1	0
Six guavas	0	1	0
Three mangoes	0	1	0
Eight cheroots	0	1	0
Tobacco in stalk (reed for smoking).....	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dressing a bubble-bubble per week, at three chillums* per day (three or four).....	0	3	0
Keeping a pair of pigeons, per week.....	0	1	2
Paint, paper, paste, &c., for making a pack of cards	0	9	0
Ditto for making back-gammon table	0	2	0
Ivory for one pair of dice	0	5	0
Chess-board of paper, and men.....	0	8	3

* Chillums are balls of tobacco and plantains, and certain spices.

AN
ADVENTURE IN CHINA,
IN A LETTER TO
THE LADY ANNE BARNARD,
BY
THE HON. HUGH LINDSAY.



AN ADVENTURE IN CHINA,

&c.

MY DEAR SISTER,

You have requested I would give you some anecdote of my life which might be interesting. Had my first outset in the world been fortunate, and the profession which I chose been auspicious to me, I might have been able to have furnished you and my country with some lasting memorial of services rendered in that naval field where so much fame has so honourably been acquired ; but you are aware that my career in that service was cut short by the entire stop to promotion which took place at the close of the American war in the year 1782, and the sea-service of the East India Company, which I then adopted, gave but little scope for any thing worth relating ; however, on one occasion, in China, I was placed in a situation the account of which you may perhaps think worthy of a place in your collection.

In 1811, I was commodore of a large and valuable fleet belonging to the East India Company, then lying in the port of Canton.

In Canton, all mercantile business is carried on by Chinese appointed by the government, and styled Hong or security merchants ; they are selected from the richest and most respectable persons in Canton, and through them only can the supercargoes, our residents in China, have intercourse with the Hoppo, or viceroy.

Those merchants have therefore the power of withholding all representations to the government which may be against their private interest, or otherwise disagreeable to them by exposing the extortions and impositions they frequently attempt on the English.

On the occasion I am now going to relate, the Hong merchants had made some pecuniary demands which the supercargoes thought it their duty to resist,—the consequence of which was, that misrepresentations were made by them to the viceroy, and, when the fleet was ready to sail, the port-clearance was refused.

After various ineffectual efforts to obtain our despatch, Mr. Brown, the chief supercargo, sent for me, and expressed his anxiety at the unlooked for detention of the very valuable fleet which was ready for sea. He informed me he had sent several petitions by the security merchants to the Hoppo, but he had reason to believe that they had never been presented, and that one which he had ordered to be carried to the city-gate had also been stopped by them in its progress. Mr. Brown declared it his positive determination to resist the pecuniary demands made by the Hong merchants, and stated it to be his firm belief that, could a petition be conveyed

to the Hoppo's own hand, the sailing of the fleet would no longer be delayed.

It now occurred to me that I might find a way of obtaining this desirable object by gaining access to the viceroy ; I therefore suggested to Mr. Brown the propriety of the commanders and officers of the fleet presenting themselves at the great gate of the city, headed by myself as commodore, with a petition in the Chinese language addressed, by my particular desire, "To the viceroy," in large Chinese characters,—and this, I said, I would endeavour to get conveyed by some means into the viceroy's own hand.

Mr. Brown agreed to my proposal, and said he would confide in my prudence to carry it into effect. I then requested I might be accompanied by Sir George Staunton, or some one of the interpreters belonging to the factory, but this Mr. Brown declined,—permitting Mr. Perry, one of the supercargoes, to go along with me.

When I left Mr. Brown, he believed it was my intention only to go to the city-gate, as was the usual practice, present the petition there, and endeavour, by waiting, to get an answer ; but I was well aware, on the present occasion, of how little use this would be, and I determined to get into the city—if possible, to reach the viceroy's palace—and to deliver the petition to him in person ; however, as my success was very doubtful, I did not disclose my intentions to any one, but determined to act as circumstances might direct.

The petition stated, "that the commodore, the com-

manders, and officers of the fleet, having finished the business which brought them to China, and having carefully observed all the laws and regulations of the port, were desirous of departing, but were informed by the security merchants that his Excellency, the viceroy, had refused the port-clearance without assigning any cause for so doing,—that the petitioners, believing in the justice of the viceroy, had reason to doubt that the detention arose from some misrepresentations made to him by the merchants, for their own private purposes,—they therefore prayed the viceroy would give them permission to depart.”

In all my intercourse with the Chinese I had observed that, however much they were inclined to oppress, a steady and temperate resistance had never failed to succeed in obtaining redress.

In Canton strangers are strictly prohibited from entering the city, being only permitted to live in the suburbs; I had, however, frequently observed in my walks, that the guards at the gates were very remiss in their duty, and that in the morning, during the time of breakfast, there was seldom more than one man there. I also knew that the streets in the city, like those in the suburbs, were so narrow that not more than three persons could walk abreast; and I had learned from the Chinese that the viceroy’s palace was about a mile from the great gate, but whether in a direct line or diverging I did not know.

On my leaving Mr. Brown, I sent orders to the com-

manders of the fleet to meet me at eight o'clock, next morning, at the Company's factory, with all their officers who were in Canton ; and I directed that they should be in full uniform, but without side-arms.

At the time appointed we assembled,—sixteen commanders and their officers, making in all about sixty persons. I informed them that I had received orders from the chief supercargo, to proceed to the great gate of the city to present a petition for the sailing of the fleet,—that Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself would lead the van, and that the rest of the body should follow, in files of three abreast, keeping close order.

About eight o'clock in the morning there are few Chinese in the streets,—we therefore had no difficulty in proceeding to the great gate, and, as I expected, found the guard (one soldier excepted) in the guard-house at breakfast. The soldier, on my passing, attempted to stop me, but on my giving him a push forward, he ran on before me ; our party then immediately got through the gate and beyond the guard-house before the guard could get out to stop us,—in consequence of the narrowness of the street, our files of three filling it completely, they could not pass us, their efforts to do so only pushing us on the faster. On, therefore, we went—no one before us attempting to impede our progress.

In a short time I discovered the soldier, who was at the gate, a little way in advance, watching our proceedings ; it then occurred to me that, as he could not pass us to return to the guard, he would go on to the Hop-

po's palace to give information there of our entry into the city ; I therefore resolved to keep him in view if possible, but the moment we came near him, he set off at full speed, and in spite of all the efforts we could make, we soon lost sight of him.

We had now proceeded about half a mile in a long narrow street, the end of which I was much annoyed at finding branched into two others rather wider, one turning short to the left, the other inclining to the right ; here I called a halt, as it was evident, if we took the wrong direction, all chance of success was at an end. I therefore called to my aid the petition addressed (as I before mentioned) "To the Hoppo," in large characters, and seeing at a shop-door a good-humoured-looking fellow staring at the unusual appearance of such a number of strangers in the city, I ran up to him and shewed him the back of the petition, which he instantly read, laughed heartily, and pointed out the right road.

We proceeded on as fast as we could go, and, after advancing a short distance, we again got sight of the soldier, whom we discovered, with several others, in the act of shutting two very large folding gates, which appeared to be the entrance to a spacious outer court, in which was visible the front of one of the most magnificent buildings I had ever seen. This was a very critical moment, for I instantly imagined it must be the Hoppo's palace, and if the gates were once closed against us, all our labour was lost. I therefore loudly called out, "Hurrah to the gate!"—We in a body sprung forward

and luckily reached it at the instant the gates were shut, but before they had time to get them bolted ; with one consent, we put our shoulders to them and the gates flew open before us, throwing all those inside to the right and left. Our whole body immediately rushed in, and it was our turn then to assist the soldiers in shutting and bolting the gates to keep out a mob of Chinese who had gathered in the city and followed in our rear.

Now we had time to breathe, look about us, and consider where we were.—Nothing could be more splendid than the building which stood in front of us ; it was covered with Chinese characters in gold, beautifully ornamented with carved work in the Chinese style, and painted in the most brilliant and gaudy colours.

Mr. Perry at once assured me we must have reached the viceroy's palace, as he discovered the particular banner which was carried before the Hoppo when he visited the Company's factory. The guard, whom we seemed to have caught *en deshabille*, had retired, and shortly after made their appearance in magnificent uniforms, and drew up in a body opposite to us.

The palace-gate now opened, and a Mandarin slowly advanced towards me ; he addressed me in Chinese, to which I could only reply by shaking my head and shewing him my petition. He put out his hand to receive it, but I drew back mine, and made a sign I wanted to go into the palace to deliver it. He now shook his head, and seemed decidedly averse to such a proceeding.

We were soon relieved from this embarrassment by

the arrival of the two senior security merchants, Mowqua and Howqua, the first a fine old man of upwards of eighty years of age, and it was supposed that to those two we principally owed our detention,—the rest of the Hong came soon after.

Mowqua was in great agitation when he arrived, and addressed me in his usual Chinese-English, “ Ah ! mister commodore, what for you come here ? you wanty security merchants have cutty head ? Hoppo truly too much angry English come him house,—he will cutty my poor old head.”—My reply was, “ Mowqua ! it is your own fault ; why did you not present the Typan’s (chief supercargo’s) petition to the Hoppo ? Had you done so, I should not have come here.”—“ Good mister commodore, me takey petition, and truly will get answer directly.”—“ No, no, Mowqua ! I will give it into the Hoppo’s own hand myself,”—on which all the security merchants set up a cry as if I had uttered some treason against the Celestial Empire ;—“ What you come here ? you wanty see Hoppo ? That you no can do—Hoppo send you prison as soon as he know you come him house —we takey petition before he know you come city—get out fast you can ; truly he too much angry he know you here.”

There now appeared a Mandarin of high rank, to whom the merchants paid great respect ; he came up to Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself, who were standing with the two senior security merchants in front of our party ; he, with civility, enquired what we wanted ? and

was instantly replied to by Mowqua, but I was determined to be my own interpreter. I therefore held up the petition for him to read the address, and made signs as before that I wanted to go into the palace to present it. This compelled Mowqua to come to an explanation with the Mandarin, who left us, as I supposed, to inform the Hoppo of our being there; he soon, however, returned, and held another consultation with the Hong merchants, who again informed me that I could not possibly see the viceroy, and that I must entrust the petition to their care.

On this I thought it right to consult with Mr. Perry, Captain Craig, and some of the senior commanders, whether they advised my yielding the point and giving up the petition. I however gave it as my own decided opinion that we should still persevere in demanding an audience, and in this I was supported by all but Mr. Perry, who thought we ought not to persist any longer. I however determined to resist, and informed the Hong merchants that nothing but force should compel us to leave the palace without an interview.—I was the more inclined to persevere, from one of the junior merchants having whispered in my ear, not to give up my point,—and that he, and several other of the Hong, did not approve of what the seniors had been doing.

After a long pause, Mowqua said to me, if I was resolved to see the Hoppo I must send away all the commanders and officers except one, and that he and I should then be admitted into the palace. To this I

instantly agreed, and it was settled that Mr. Perry, the supercargo, should be the person to remain with me, and that Captain Craig and the rest of the party should retire out of the city, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Perry and myself were now left in the court of the Hoppo's palace, surrounded by a great number of Mandarins, Hong merchants, and soldiers; the Mandarin who took the lead then shewed us into a large and splendid hall in the palace, where we were accompanied by the Hong merchants, who appeared extremely disconcerted at our success. It was now near twelve o'clock, and, from that time till four, every effort by promises, persuasions, and threats, was made use of by the Hong to prevail on me to give up the desire of seeing the Hoppo, but without effect; I was perfectly decided and firm, although frequently and most anxiously urged by Mr. Perry to yield the point.

Finding that I was not to be moved, Mowqua at last told me I should soon see the viceroy,—“And now, mister commodore, when great man come, you must knocky head.”—“What is knocky head, Mowqua?” said I.—“You must down on knees, and putty head on ground,” was the reply.—“That's not my country fashion, Mowqua—I don't do so to my king, therefore will not do so to your Hoppo, but I will make him a bow while you knocky head.”—With this, after some communication between the Mandarins and the security merchants, they appeared satisfied.

I now found they were in earnest as to my seeing

the Hoppo, and there was much bustle in the palace ; they were, however, determined I should not imagine that I had forced an interview, as I was given to understand that the viceroy was going out to pay his colleague, the Fyane, a visit, and that I should see him as he went out.

At this time there were in the great hall thirty or forty Mandarins of various ranks, all the security merchants, Mr. Perry and myself, with many other persons belonging to the palace,—in all, I should suppose, about a hundred and fifty in number.

The doors were shortly thrown open, and we observed a procession issuing from another large house and crossing a court to the hall we were in ; the guard passed on, and presently there appeared the Hoppo, borne in a most magnificent state chair by sixteen men richly dressed ; the chair was very splendid, and the Hoppo one of the finest and noblest-looking Chinese I had ever seen, with a remarkably fine black beard. The moment he entered the hall, every person, except Mr. Perry and myself, threw themselves down as if they had been shot through the head, touched the ground with their forehead, and were up again in a moment,—even my old friend Mowqua, though so advanced in years, was down and up again as nimbly as a boy ; on my remarking this to him after the interview was over, his reply was, “Mister commodore, I very much long time do that custom.”

As the Hoppo approached to Mr. Perry and me, we

made him a low bow. I then advanced, with my petition in my hand, to his chair, when he desired his bearers to stop, and having called Mowqua, he enquired by him of me what I wanted? I said I had a petition which I was desirous of having the honour to deliver into his own hand. He asked if it was written in Chinese? I replied it was. He then put out his hand and took it from me, saying he was going to visit the Fyane, and that I should have an immediate answer. He gave orders that we should have refreshments and be conveyed back to the Company's factory in chairs belonging to the palace—made us a *chin-chin*, (a complimentary mode of saluting,) which was considered by the Chinese present as a mark of great favour towards us—and then passed on out of the palace.

As soon as the Hoppo was gone, we were taken by the Mandarins into another apartment, where several tables were laid, covered with fruit and sweetmeats. I was placed at one table with two Mandarins and Mowqua, Mr. Perry and Howqua at another, with two other Mandarins; the rest of the security merchants and Mandarins were placed at tables of four, agreeably to the Chinese custom. A handsome dinner was served, with great abundance of hot wine, the produce of China, and, after passing a very pleasant hour, we were put into the state chairs, and carried through the city back to the Company's factory—to the astonishment of all the Chinese, and to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Brown, who had been under much uneasiness on our account.

Next day there was a heavy fine levied on the security merchants—the port-clearance was issued—the fleet despatched—and here ends my story.

I remain, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother,
HUGH LINDSAY.

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